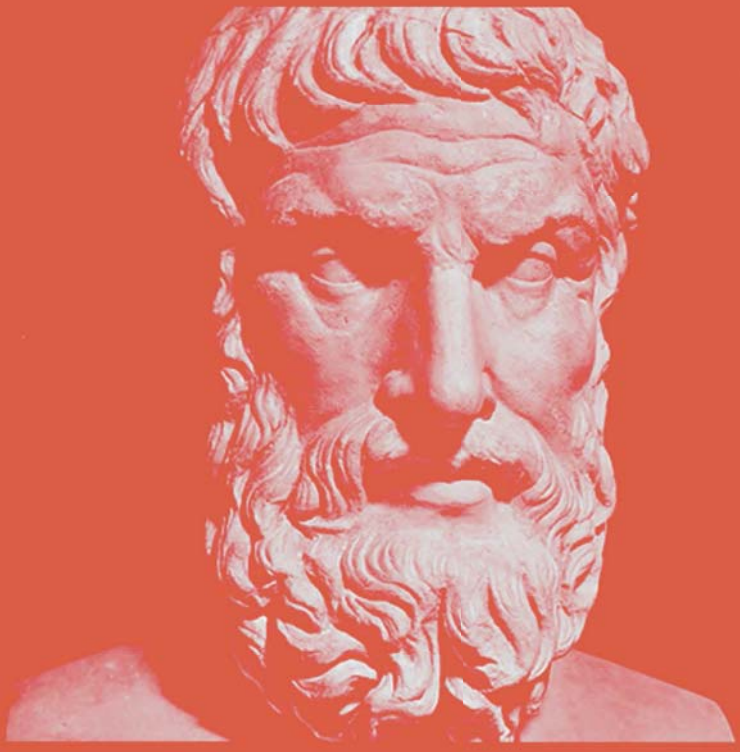
Greek Philosophy

Lecture Notes from Hermann Diels



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BOOKS

Hermann Diels

Greek Philosophy

Lecture notes
from the winter semester 1897/98

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Greek philosophy of ‘ ’.

Philosophy has undergone a major transformation over the last 50 years. It was once the centrepiece, the guiding light of the specialised sciences. Today, the specialised sciences influence philosophy. That intimate relationship with philosophy has ceased. At the same time, philosophy has become historical and scientific: psychology (scientific-mathematical) and the history of philosophy (genetic-philological). This development was foreseen by Seneca (Letter 108): ‘quae philosophia fuit, facta est philologia’. Our age simply has no relationship with poetry and philosophy in the highest sense. Nor should we demand it. We are rational beings. Therefore, we should pursue the historical and exact sciences.

The Greek people stand at the beginning and centre of the history of philosophy. The philosophical achievements of the Indians and Chinese stand on their own; the Greeks were not inspired by them [*002*]. However, every post-Hellenic philosophy has learned from the Greeks. And the history of Greek philosophy teaches us the culmination of the Hellenic spirit. We must trace the development and hear the individual philosophers speak for themselves.[1] It is therefore, at the same time, a philological science. We shall then examine and familiarise ourselves with the tradition. The foundations must be laid; ultimately, we wish to understand Greek philosophy in the context of the Greek people. The ups and downs must be understood in the context of political developments.

However, we must look beyond the narrow scope of contemporary philosophy. Once, astronomy and physics dwelt under the same roof with it. Now it is the science of principles. Thus it appears first in Aristotle’s ‘first philosophy’ (Metaphysics). Yet even Aristotle still encompassed everything, though always with an eye to the νρώτ0 φτλοσοφία. Initially, mathematics and physics dominate.

The word φιλοσοφία

φιλοσοφία, φιλοσοφία are absent in Homer and Hesiod. In Herodotus, probably I. 30 first. (Wrongly attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus [cf. DK 22 B 35 and note]). Pericles in the funeral oration: φτλοσοφοῖμsν avsu μαλαυίac. Is this his? It is more likely [*003*] to be Thucydides’s. It is any scholarly pursuit, similar to σοφός, σοφτστής. In the 5th century, this encompasses, without any pejorative connotation, sages and poets. The emphasis lies (vspì άpzaí0c

1 *Ritter-Preller’s Historia* Philosophiae Graecae [7] .
[Ritter, Heinrich; Preller, Ludwig (eds.): Historia Philosophiae Graecae, editio septima quam curaverunt Fridericus Schultess et Eduardus Wellmann, Gotha 1888.]

ί0τρί0c Pseudo-Hippocrates)[2] always on the theoretical, as opposed to the practical. A brooder, an ideologue is φτλόσοφοc, cf. Gorgias φτλοσόφων λό-τσων àμίλλac.[3] So mockingly in Aristophanes [Eccl. 571], in Xenophon.[4]

Until now, the term was not a technical term. This is how the word appears in Plato; cf. the development from the *Theaetetus* to the *Phaedrus*, where a distinction is made between *sofó*, which pertains to the divine, and *philosophos*.[5] Now the σοφτσταί become conceited show-offs; this is the basis of the dialogue σοφτστής, which must be thoroughly Platonic. Pythagoras is out of the question. Heraclides had, in a novelistic manner,
'Pythagoras'. That is the murky source. [Cf. Cic. Tusc. 5.8 ff.]

Socrates must have coined the term. In Xenophon's 'Convivium', he calls himself a servant of φιλοσοφία. [6] Plato adopts this. Xenophon says that many claimed to be φιλοσοφικοί (the disciples of Antisthenes); this is a fixed, polemical term. Thus Antisthenes must have used the term; Socrates must therefore be the originator, since Plato also uses it. Isocrates can also be cited in support of this, as he is fond of the word; he wishes to impart φιλοσοφία to his pupils. Plato says that philosophers are those who can touch upon the unchanging, the doctrine of ideas, that is, the highest. [7] Here Aristotle's νρώτ0 φτλοσοφία begins to take shape. [*004*]

Semasiology is not the history of words; rather, it is part of cultural history, allowing us to trace the transformations of concepts and our understanding of them. Thus, the meaning of the word φιλοσοφία has become increasingly narrow. With Aristotle, this process comes to an end; with the Stoics (σοφία άνθρωνίνων uaì θsîων νραμμάτων), everything is once again encompassed, above all the practical exercise of virtue. The concept has been reversed; once, after all, φιλοσοφία was theory, now φιλοσόφος is the practitioner who also instructs others. For Epicurus, it is the activity that grants the 'sí%atμονία'.

The philosophers of the Hellenistic royal courts, fully aware of their role, are consulted on delicate matters. So too in Rome, for example Panaetius with Scipio. That was the beginning. But it is only later that the Romans engage in 'philosophy', and then the horizon is narrow. The greatness of this people lies elsewhere. There is only one philosophy in Rome, and even then it is purely practical. Seneca is a witty moralist who lovingly comes to terms with human frailties; philosophy becomes socially acceptable. Dio Chrysostomus, under Vespasian, does not even wish to be a philosopher[8] – but that is merely vanity. In Epictetus, whose legacy Arrian has bequeathed to us

, the idea [*005*] of the human

2 *Pseudo-Hippocrates:* "vspì άpzaí0c ί0τρί0c."
3 *Gorgias Helena §13*
4 *Xenoph. Anab II 1.13*
5 *Theaetetus. Phaedrus p. 278 D | Wilamowitz Studies I 216*
[Fortress and city from Cecrops to Pericles. In: Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von: Aus Kyd-athen, Berlin 1881]
6 *Xen. Memorab. I* 2 [recte Conv. 3.10 and 4.57 (μαστρονsία)]
7 *Plato, Res Publicae 484*. [b]
8 *Dio Chrysost. 13. § 11* [Or. 13, 11]

physical weakness.[9] He was a slave in Rome, Marcus Aurelius' Meditations grow on this rotten trunk. One realises that if this were called φιλοσοφία, then Christianity too would claim to be philosophy. Christians, too, speak of η uaθ' ημᾶc φιλοσοφία. When the Neoplatonists Plotinus and Proclus preach ecstasy, that thoughtless repose in God, this, too, is called φιλοσοφία, virtually synonymous with Christian ecstasy and asceticism.[10] And by the end of the 5th century, the overseer is a philosophus. Thus the word has returned to its origin; the overseer is precisely familiar with the principles, the theoretical aspects of the work. Since then, the word philosophia has belonged to scholarly language.

One will not go wrong if one takes the concept broadly at the outset.

The tradition.

We must know the sources precisely.[11] A mere search for quotations is no longer possible. But the ars critica is very difficult here; one must first cleanse and examine. Of Democritus's 60 writings, we have not a single book, only the very late, pseudepigraphical Book on the Art of Making Gold [see page 46 and note 240]! Even with Aristotle, we have only a sixth. The dialogues are entirely missing. Only Plato has been preserved in full and in very good condition. Neoplatonism is likewise well preserved. Everything else [*006*] is based on later tradition.

Polemical, casual references and quotations. Take Thales, Xenophanes, Heraclitus; many argue anonymously, each successor against his predecessor. There is much of this in Herodotus, Aristophanes, Euripides. Middle and later comedy, and the anonymous collection of the Hippocratic Corpus, yield much. This corpus contains treatises by eminent minds, but this is where the work must begin. The history of medicine in antiquity is, after all, closely intertwined with philosophy; Galen, too, was a philosopher. And it goes without saying that much is to be found in Plato and Aristotle, who sought to dismantle earlier systems. But the matter is not always reliable; opponents wear masks, just as he does in that of Socrates. His Gorgias, Parmenides and Zeno are, for the most part, contemporaries, above all Antisthenes.

Aristotle is different. He is an encyclopaedist and the founder of the history of philosophy. Everywhere, he builds upon what has gone before. Following the model of the Academy, his exposition always seeks to provide an overview of earlier achievements. This is a sound pedagogical method that offers us much historical

9 *Schenkl* Epictetea. [Epicteti dissertationes … ed. Henricus Schenkl, Leipzig 1894]

10 *Passio sanctorum quattuor* etc.
[Passio sanctorum quattuor coronatorum ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, Vienna 1853; another edition 1870]

11 *Berthelot*, chemist [Berthelot, Marcellin: Introduction à l'étude de la chimie des anciens et du moyen âge, Paris 1889]

material is available. Even today, Aristotle is still regarded as our master in historical criticism. [*007*]

One should begin with Metaphysics A.[12] The style there is more accessible, more elegant. The book is intended to introduce beginners. Aristotle, however, can also be mistaken, and he usually presents older systems in paraphrase. He did this for practical reasons, for the sake of his students. He levels the playing field. We must therefore strip away the modern elements. We must therefore be familiar with Aristotle's terminology.[13] Aristotle's comprehensive work shapes the Alexandrian tradition of the biographers and doxographers.

Theophrastus's 18 books %ó(at των φυστυων encompass everything thought up to that point: the history of physics and philosophy from Thales (up to) Plato. Biographical details, particularly %ta%ozή, followed by the arrangement. In the later books, the arrangement is more systematic; here, too, he stands squarely on Aristotle's shoulders. vspì aίσθήσσωc is a fragment from it.[14] It shows that alongside the views there is also a critique from the Peripatetic standpoint. D(iels) has shown that Menon's %ó(at íατρων were composed (íατρtuή συναμωμή, Msνώvsta) following Theophrastus's work. Galen praised it highly. In 1892, a papyrus was 'published' by Kenyon in London [Kenyon, Frederic George: A Medical Papyrus in the British Museum, CR 6 (1892) 237–240], an edition of the Menoneia; Diels has edited it.[15] Menon is dependent on Theophrastus.

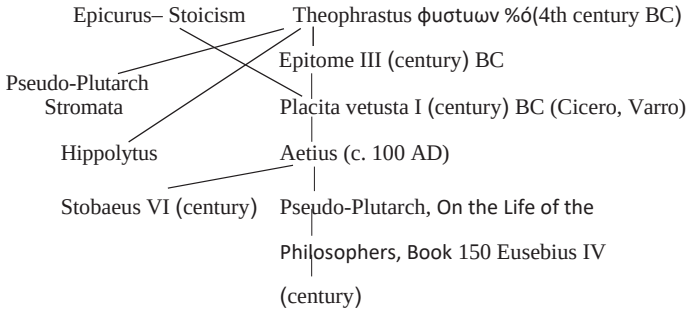
Cleitomachus, Cicero and Posidonius draw on an abridged version of Theophrastus' work, found in two [*008*] books, based on Theophrastus, in scant fragments found with Hippolytus on Mount Athos in 1842; he deals with heresies and, in the first book, with the φtλοσοφοίμsνa 'of Origen', concerning pagan philosophy. In the 3rd century, too, the Sceptic Sextus Empiricus makes use of Theophrastus and the Doxographers. Valuable, though obscured by Stoicism, are the placita, vspì των άρσυόντων, as Aetius (2nd century AD) excerpted from Theophrastus, then used by Pseudo-Plutarch in his De placitis, and on the other hand by Stobaeus in the 6th century. From both together, one can reconstruct the book. This has been done in the Doxographi [see note 14]. 'Galen's' Historia philosophica (in the 5th century) uses only 'Plutarch', as does Eusebius in Praep. Evang. IV (century), (died) 340.

12 *Aristotle's Metaphysics*, ed. Bonitz (also translated), Berlin 1890. Ed. Schwegler. Ed. Christ. [Ed. Schwegler, Albert: Tübingen 1847/48; ed. Christ, Wilhelm von: Leipzig [2] 1895]

13 *Index Aristotelicus*, ed. Bonitz [Bonitz, Hermann: … Berlin 1870]

14 *Diels Doxographi* [graeci,] *Berlin 1879*

15 *Diels Supplementum Aristotelicum Anonymi* etc. | *Hermes 28. 410.* | *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 1893. 101* [Anonymi Londinensis ex Aristotelis iatricis Menoniis et aliis medicis eclogae ed. H. Diels. Berlin 1893 | Diels: On the Fragments of Menon's Iatrika in the London Papyrus 137, in: Hermes 28 (1893) 407–434 | Diels: On the Physical System of Straton, in: Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1893, 101–128]



There are also overviews of other schools available in Stobaeus, which date back to Areios Didymos in the time of Augustus. [*009*]

Alongside this is the biographical tradition. This too was inspired by Aristotle and Theophrastus; the main contributors are Peripatetics, but critical analysis and understanding are often lacking. Luzac has demonstrated just how unreliable all of this is.[16] Using a fable as an example, he shows how the Peripatetics maliciously distort and fabricate. On the whole, he is right, but he goes too far. Susemihl has treated the Alexandrian period with great erudition[17] and Vossius-Westermann's historici graeci [Vossius, Gerhard Ioannes: De historicis graecis libri III. Auctio-re… ed. Antonius Westermann. Leipzig 1838] as well as Fabricius' Bibliotheca graeca [Hamburg 1705–1728, ed. Gottlieb Christoph Harles [4] Hamburg 1790–1802 and 1838]. (K. and Th. Müller's fragmenta historicorum [graeco-rum, [1] 1841–1884] is also diligent, but the first volume is now unusable)

Heracleides of Heraclea Pontica, a pupil of Plato, but also a Pythagorean. For the Academy was flooded with them whilst Plato was growing old. We have a great deal of good material from them – judging by the titles. Such critical works as: νρὸc τὰ Ζήνωνος, 0(0μήστc 'Ηραυλσίτου, νρὸc τὸν Δ0μόυρττον 0(0μήστc, νspὶ των Ηυθαμορσίων. In all his other works, Heraclides appears to be full of 'puerilibus fabulis' (Cicero) regarding Pythagoras, and probably so in other respects too. But this probably stems in part from the man's novelistic dialogues. One must not, however, do him an injustice. He is a poet.

Aristoxenus of Tarentum was also associated with the Pythagoreans; he turned to Aristotle's school in theory; his musical writings are significant. His ethics were strict and caustic to the point of slander. He propagated the bigamy of Socrates. The ἰνόμειατά and the βίον ἀπὸν, then the [*010*] νουθοδοξία ἰνόφαστα, widely read (Iamblichus etc., Diogenes Laertius). It is not a historical source; he aims to edify, hence the inclusion of Aristotelian and Platonic elements. Aristoxenus is well-versed. His friend and fellow-

16 *Luzac,* *Lectiones Atticae de Digamia Socratis*, 1809, Leiden [L., Jan: L. A.: *De dig. S. dissertatio*]

17 *Susemihl,* History of Greek Literature. 1892.
[Susemihl, Franz: History of Greek Literature in the Alexandrian Period, Vol. 1/2, Leipzig 1891–1892]

Dikaiarchos of Messene in Sicily, in his *Biot* on Greece, lays the foundations of cultural history. He then examines individual lives, classifying them into main types. The approach is Aristotelian (Book I of the *Nicomachean Ethics*). Then there is *Clearchus of Soloi*, a rationalist and pupil of Aristotle and Theophrastus.[18] He takes the legends and translates them into history, but to do so he composes his own verses. His βίοt in 8 volumes is unreliable. Pupils of Theophrastus include *Phainias of Lesbos*, who, according to Böckh, is said to have fashioned the Parian marble placed on 264. This is groundless. He is serious, vspì των Σωυραττυων, vρὸc τοὶc σοφτστάκ. Then *Demetrius of Phaleron* with his ἀναμραφή ἀρzόντων. He relocates the scholars of Athens to Alexandria, where the Museum is founded. There he brings order

Callimachus of Cyrene (d. 236), less significant as a poet than as a scholar. He established literary history in the vívausc των 0ν vάσr vat-
%sίą %ταλαμ†άντων uaì ων συν?μρα†αv, that is, βίοt and uατάλοcοt. Later writers adopted this. There are 120 books. He is assisted above all by *Hermippos* the Callimachean, c. 200, who expands the material in the βίοt according to a chronological and factual order. From the fragments, we see a lack of critical judgement
[*011*] but great diligence in collecting material. He provides the genuine last wills and testaments of many men. He is, in all likelihood, merely a compiler. The History of Deaths is attributed to him, a satire on life as a whole. Here we have a source with a parodic tendency, something like φτλόσόφων θάβατο, similar to the σίλλωτα of *Timon of Phlius*, who has the deceased philosophers march forth in the manner of the Nekyia:[19] Zeno the Stoic with an old rag-and-bone woman. Then [Pseudo-Aristippus] vspì va-λatãc τρυφής, a book of shame, all fiction. Later generations read it with great pleasure. It is used to fill the gaps; the late Alexandrians have a horror vacui, and the Christians then extract the essence from it. Alongside them stand the *letter-fabricators*.[20] *Lobon of Argos* finds it too laborious to expand the literature of the Seven Sages; he reshapes the literature by providing samples. Hiller was the first to expose this forger. [21] All these unsavoury elements flow into the cloaca maxima of Hermippus. Later scholars must attempt to exercise criticism here. Take, for instance, Aristarchus's pupil *Satyros*, a valiant philologist. His βίοt dates from around 180 BC. He has expunged all the writings of Diogenes and Aristippus. Then there is *Sotion's* %ta%o-zaí. He establishes a system within the strict academic tradition. The entire development

18 *Bernays on Aristotle's theory of drama, p. 92.* | *On Theophrastus, p. 187*
[Bernays, Jacob: Two Treatises on Aristotle's Theory of Drama, Berlin 1880, p. 92, end of note 5 on Clearchus | ibid.: Theophrastus' Treatise on Piety, Berlin 1866, p. 187, note 37: 'Clearchus' dialogue Hspì "Τvvou; Aristotle.']

19 Wachsmuth's corpus of comic poetry: Sillographi.
[Corpusculum poesis epicae graecae ludibundae ed. Curt Wachsmuth, Fasc. 2: Sillographorum graecorum reliquiae, Berlin 1885]

20 *Hercher epistolographi* [Epistolographi graeci ed. Rudolf Hercher, Paris 1873]

21 *Hiller Rhein. Mus. 33*
[Hiller, Eduard: The Literary Activity of the Seven Sages, in: Rhein. Museum 33 (1878) 518–529]

made clear in schools.[22] But it prevails, despite all the violence. The 13th book dealt with the barbarians. Aristotle had introduced the idea that philosophy had come to Hellas from the East. Jews and Christians took this up; Plato, Μωίσ0c άττtuί7ων [Clem. Alex. Str. 1, 28, 150]. Satyros and Sotion are summarised by the [*012*] Alexandrian *Heracleides Lembos*. Under Philometor Diplomat. 0νττομαὶ in 6 books.[23]

Sosikrates %ta%ozaí revises the pseudepigrapha and the chronology. In doing so, he follows Panaitios and Apollodorus, the Pergamenians of the 2nd century.

Antigonus of Carystus, who lived around 235 BC, writes biographies of people he knew personally.[24] He is witty, though not always credible. He draws on comedians. A little earlier, around 240, under Attalus I, *Neanthes of Cyzicus*, a flatterer, established the typical form of the Pythagorean novel.

But Crates of Mallos and Panaetius are critics, of good taste. vspὶ των aὶp?σων by Panaetius. And then Apollodorus of Athens, a chronicler, popularised a rhyming chronicle in four books; he made the title fashionable. They are iambic trimeters, covering the Trojan War (up to) the end of the 2nd (century). First edition 144, then 2nd edition (up to) 119 BC. He favours the philosophers. Learned, reliable, he has mastered a great deal of literature, mostly combining his chronological data.[25] He groups all the authors mentioned together, e.g. the Seven Sages, and then distributes the lump sums; for him, the ‘auμe’ is the 40th year. If an event appeared to fall within the ‘auμe’, he sets the man’s age at 40 years. Thereafter the birth is fixed, e.g. Thucydides born 471 because 436 is in the άυμή. [*013*] This was already criticised in antiquity. [26] Herodotus born 484 (died at) 40 = 444 άυμή Colonisation of Thurioi! But Apollodorus’s estimates remain the only guide. We must republish Apollodorus. Alongside Alexandria, Athens, Pergamon and Rhodes, where Panaetius the Stoic was also active, then Theophrastus’s pupil Praxiphanes, the frivolous *Hieronymus*,[27] then *Antisthenes* of Rhodes, %ta%ozaí, a contemporary of Thucydides, a hunter of Romans.[28]

During Cicero’s time, *Demetrios of Magnesia* compiled *vspὶ ὸμονίμων vot0των uaὶ συμμραφ?ων*, a lexicon of scholars, which was published by Hesychios Illustrios in Miletus (VI

22 *Doxographi* p. 147

23 *Doxographi p. 151*

24 *Wilamowitz* Antigonos.
[Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von: Antigonos of Carystus. Berlin 1881]

25 *Rhein. Mus.* 31 Diels
[Chronological Studies on Apollodorus’ Chronica, in: Rhein. Mus. 31 (1876) 1–54]

26 *Wachsmuth* Introduction etc.
[Wachsmuth, Curt: Introduction to the Study of Ancient History, Leipzig 1895]

27 *Satira philologa for Sauppe Hiller*
[Hiller, Eduard: Hieronymii Rhodii peripatetici fragmenta, in: Satura philologa Hermanno Sauppio obtulit amicorum conlegarum decas, Berlin 1879, pp. 85–118]

28 *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 1883.* 1067 *Zeller.*
[Zeller, Eduard: On Antisthenes of Rhodes, in: Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1883, 1067–1073]

(century)), found in the ὀνοματολότος, now preserved only in Suidas' Lexicon. Also much in Diogenes Laertius.[29]
Then 'Hesych', a brazen Renaissance forgery,[30] as is the violarium of Eudokia.
Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor, φιλοσόφων %τα%οζαί, by Sulla Bürger; he uses the last Pythagorean works, with much Alexandrian material in them.
Diocles of Magnesia, βίοt των φτλοσόφων, Epicurean, c. 50 BC. Laertius uses him, as well as *Hippobotos*, φτλοσόφων άναцραφή, 1st century AD. Then *Nikias of Nicaea*, whom Usener considers the principal author of Laertius.[31]
The following have survived: *the index of the writings from Herculaneum*, which is quite good, though it contains a great deal of gossip.[32] He draws heavily on Apollodorus, presumably for use in schools.
Then the *Stoic index*; Comparetti published it well.[33] [*014*]
From Philodemus, a σίντα (tc των φιλοσόφων) is mentioned. [34]
Epicurus has no historical sense; at most he engages in polemics; his pupil *Idomeneus* writes vspì σωuραττυων. Rubbish.

In Roman times one learns nothing new, but one takes into account the conversation of the nobility – such as *Pamphila*, who provides a selection for the salon, the good and the bad side by side. Then Nicias of Nicaea, *Aristocles of Messene*, whom Eusebius uses, 10 books vspì φιλοσοφίας.
Numenius,[35] then the more significant 'exegete of Aristotle', *Alexander the Carian*, Typical of Scholasticism in his commentary, for instance on the *Metaphysics* (ed. Hayduck) [Alex. Aphrodisiensis, *Commentaria* on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, ed. Michael Hayduck, Berlin 1891]. *Athenaeus* of Naucratis rarely draws on first-hand sources; unfortunately, only a fragment is extant, and the text is poor.

Gellius and *Aelian* in the Varia Historia, and finally *Diogenes Laertius* (3rd century). The elders call him L(aertius) Diog(enes). That is likely correct. Laertius is derived from Laertes the Elder. In the 3rd century, people began to form such names. His Epigrams, then he uses these poems to create a good historical framework through slaves. This can be verified in the 10th book, according to Usener. Diogenes is very valuable for history, but

29 *Westermann, Biographi.*
[Biographi. Vitarum scriptores Graeci minores ed. Anton Westermann, Braunschweig 1845]
30 *Flach, Hesychius of Miletus: what remains.*
[Hesychius of Miletus, *On Illustrious Men*, ed. by Ioannes Flach, Leipzig 1880]
31 *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 1892, p. 1023.*
[Usener, Hermann: The Source of Laertius Diogenes, in: Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1892, pp. 1023–1034]
32 *Bücheler, Greifswald 1869* [Academicorum philosophorum index herculanensis, ed. Franz B.]
33 *Comparetti, Papyrus Herculaneum* 1875
[Unpublished Herculaneum papyrus published by Domenico Comparetti, Florence 1875]
34 *Diogenes Laertius* [10, 3]
35 *Thedinga* on Numenius, Bonn. [Thedinga, Friedrich: On Numenius, the Platonic Philosopher, 1875]

Not a good edition. Only the last book in Usener's *Epicurea* is good. [36] Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorae* (born 232 in Tyre) also belongs here. The man's φτλο-σοφíac ìστορía covers only the philosophers (up to) Plato. Highly learned, [*015*] but we have almost only the essay on Pythagoras.

Iamblichus, a pupil of Porphyry, c. 300, a Neopythagorean;[37]

Eunapius, c. 400 AD, βíot φτλοσόφων uaì σοφτστων, i.e. ρήτορων. *Proclus'* Commentaries on Plato's writings 411–485, professor in Athens. Plotinus himself is of little historical interest. Also outstanding, c. 520, *Damascius*, vita Isidori, then vspì των άρzων.[38]

The last independent philosopher was *Simplicius* of Cilicia, who was expelled from Justinian's court to Khosrow's in 529, but later returned. His commentaries on *Physics*, *De Caelo* and the *Categories* contain much of value, and he transmits much from Eudemus.[39] And he shares a surprisingly large number of original fragments; it is marvellous that these writings were still in their original form in the 6th century. How Simplicius came by them is unknown. The fragments were likely to have been kept in the archives of the Athenian School. He is a critical thinker and interprets Aristotle excellently. With Justinian, Christianity had triumphed, but only after a long struggle.

Initially harshly dismissive (1 Cor. 3:25 [probably 1 Cor. 3:18–20]), one soon realises in the East that the educated cannot be overcome through ignorance. One must fight with scholarly weapons. I Hellenic philosophy is sinful, irrational, immoral, at odds with itself, self-contradictory. II Where truth is taught, it is stolen from Moses and the [*016*] prophets. This can only be achieved through knowledge:

1) Clement of Alexandria, c. 200, many excerpts: Protrepticus, Paedagogus, στρωματsîc.

2) Hippolytus of Portus Romanus, c. 220: *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, found on Mount Athos in 1841 [correctly 1842]. It contains references to Empedocles and Heraclitus. The heresies are merely rehashed philosophy. He possessed an annotated edition of Heraclitus. Excerpts from Theophrastus are also included in the first book. (See above). [40]

3) *Eusebius of Caesarea* (died) 341. In the *Praeparatio evangelica* he proceeds objectively. He wishes to show how foolish the pagans are. Much Plato, good excerpts from the excellent library of Caesarea. Origen also has

36 *Usener, Epicurea*, 1887. Leipzig.

37 *E. Rohde* Rhein. Mus. 26, 27.
[Rohde, Erwin: The Sources of Iamblichus in his Biography of Pythagoras, in: Rheinisches Museum 26 (1871) 554–576, 27 (1872) 23–61]

38 *Ruelle*, Damascius 1889. Paris.
[Δαμασυíou Δta%ózou άνορíat uaì λíστc … ed. Charles Émile Ruelle, II Paris 1889]

39 *Simplicius*, *De physica* (ed. Diels); *De caelo* (ed. Heiberg). (Both) Berlin Academy.
[Simplicius' Commentaries on Aristotle's Books on Physics, ed. H. Diels, Vol. II, Berlin 1882/1895; Simplicius' Commentaries on Aristotle's On the Heavens, ed. Johan Ludvig Heiberg, Berlin 1894]

40 *Diels Doxographi* [p. 153]

collected here. A Philotext originates from there. His chronicle is important, but can only be reconstructed.[41] It contains many fundamental errors.
4) *Cyril of Alexandria*, c. 444 (died). Victor in the Nestorian controversy, refutes Julian. He is crude and violent.
5) *Theodoretus*, the refuter of the heretics. Many excerpts; notably, he is the only one to cite Aetius by name.

Most of the more recent literature is of little importance. It was not until this century that *Schleiermacher* pointed the way forward. Particularly in his lectures. He is followed by
Ritter, unevenly, verbosely.[42]
Brandis possesses very precise knowledge and excels in the [*017*] field of Peripatetic philosophy. His *Commentationes Eleaticae* remain indispensable to this day. Yet he is never a master of his subject matter, and is often allegorical.[43]
A. Krische is an excellent critic on the subject of Cicero's De natura deorum. He is unable to present his arguments effectively.[44]

Hegel's lectures were a success. He laid the foundations of the principle of development. He constructs a system that constantly strives for perfection. He himself stands at the top of the pyramid. He is witty and offers much that is new and valuable. But he overlooks just one thing: progress is extraordinarily slow and follows a winding path. The law of inertia is particularly strong in intellectual matters. The old continues to exert its influence, coexisting alongside the better, which leads to relapses.

Zeller takes his cue from Hegel. His Philosophy of the Greeks, presented in its development in 1844 [Die Philos. d. Gr. in ihrer geschichtl. Entw., Tübingen [1] 1844–1852, Vol. 1 Leipzig [5] 1892 etc.]. In the notes, he guides the reader towards a correct understanding of the sources. He increasingly frees himself from Hegel. Volume I: Introduction (up to) Socrates. II: Socrates, Plato, the early Academy, Aristotle, the earlier part of the Peripatetic school. III: Post-Aristotelian philosophy (up to) Justinian.

On his shoulders *rests Burnet's* *Early Greek Philosophy* (1892), a popular work. *Th. Gomperz's* *Greek Thinkers* (Volume I: up to Socrates). Unlike Zeller, he is a positivist, and his judgements are often quite different from Zeller's. He takes a broad view.
For reference: *Überweg's* Grundriß, extensive bibliography.
Very popular: *Schwegler*, now out of date [History of Greek Philosophy, Tübingen 1859, [2] 1870, Freiburg [3] 1882]; [*018*]

41 *Schöne's* Eusebius [Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo ed. Alfred Schoene, Berlin 1866 / 1875]
42 *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy* 1828
[Ritter, Heinrich: History of Ancient Philosophy, Vol. IV 1829–1834; [2] 1836–1839]
43 *Brandis's Handbook of Greek and Roman Philosophy* | *The Development of Greek Philosophy* 1862–62
[Brandis, Christian August: Handbook of the History of Greek and Roman Philosophy, Vol. III, Berlin 1835–1866 | Ibid.: History of the Development of Greek Philosophy and its After-effects in the Roman Empire, Berlin 1862–1864]
44 *Krische's Research in the Field of Ancient Philosophy.*
[Krische, August Burkhard: Research … Göttingen 1840]

Windelband's History of Ancient Philosophy [History of Ancient Philosophy (Handbook of Classical Antiquity 5, 1), Nördlingen 1888, Munich [2] 1894]; particularly good on atomism.
Fragmenta philosophorum in Didot is unusable. [Fragmenta philosophorum graeco-rum ed. Friedrich Wilhelm August Mullach, Paris 1860–83]

Organisation of the material.

The development must allow for an organic structure.
I The physical era (up to) the Sophists. Childhood. Hypotheses are put forward without having clarified the fundamental questions of knowledge. Sophistry itself represents the turbulent years of adolescence.
II The philosophy of concepts: the age of man: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle. Socrates attaches great importance to concepts, which in Plato become the theory of ideas [sic]; in Aristotle, the colourful world of phenomena and the essence of things in themselves come into their own. He is encyclopaedic; he represents the pinnacle of the Greek spirit.
III Practical philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics. One seeks to attain ἀτα-ραξία, to be at peace. This is the age of old age.

I: 6th–5th centuries BC. II: 4th century BC. III: 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Philosophy follows the political high points.

After the 2nd century, it is all over. National independence has ceased; the barbarians have taken hold of Greek philosophy. The spirit of eclecticism, originating in Alexandria and cultivated through Rome, gains the upper hand; the barbarians assert their influence. Philosophy in Rome has become Roman, Greek only in form. [*019*]

Neoplatonism and Neopythagoreanism are entirely un-Greek. It is an anti-Christian reaction, which nevertheless adopts the ecstatic elements from its opponents. It was also introduced by barbarians, though the system is highly interesting. This Roman-Oriental phase is an appendix. And eclecticism can only be understood through the entirety of cultural history, through the history of religion. The first dawn of philosophy, as well as its end, is linked to religion.

1. Cosmogonic poetry.

The Homeric poets were far removed from any speculation.[45] They merely reflected popular beliefs. There is no systematic framework here. Indeed, in folk traditions, coherence can only be imposed by force. A certain degree of speculation is present in the text of the Iliad, which is by no means a recent work. But everything is entirely poetic.

45 *Jensen's Cosmology of the Babylonians.* [Jensen, Peter: Die K. … Strasbourg 1890]

Hesiod continues:[46] whereas Homer's gods were arranged according to the needs of the poem, in a disorderly fashion, here we find a deliberate system; he aims to be scholarly and comprehensive.[47] He fills in the gaps. The Ouranos period, the Kronos period, the Zeus period. This is a great step forward. He brings historical order to the confusion. Hesiod recognises epochs; this has a profound impact. The Ouranos period begins with chaos, the gaping void. It is the first to come into being, followed by Earth, Tartarus, Eros.[48] Then, from chaos, Hpsβoc and ví(, aiθ0p, ημ?p0. But the Earth brings forth Ouranos.

The second world period begins with Kronos, who castrates Uranus. Kronos has certainly already been compared to zpóvoc. This was common practice with Pindar: upaívω – upóvoc, the consummator. His consort is Psía. [*020*] The gods spring from this couple, but ultimately Zeus alone succeeds in escaping destruction at the hands of Kronos; thus begins the third, human period under Zeus.

The system arose from popular belief but has been fleshed out; there is much that is true in it, much that is philosophical. Aristotle classifies Chaos among the principles.

But philosophy only truly begins with Thales,[49] the first scientific, inquiring thinker, not a poet.

All subsequent cosmogonies are dependent on Hesiod, but they are of little significance. Speculation is rife everywhere, especially among the Orphics.[50]

Curious [is] [Paul Robert] Schuster's *De veteris orphicae theogoniae indole* (1869). *Nägelsbach's *Nachhom. Theogon.* 401* [Nägelsbach, Karl Friedrich: *Die nachhomeri-

Theology of Greek Popular Belief up to Alexander, Nuremberg 1857, Section 7 § 18], *Group* Cults [see Note 47]. Then in detail: *Kern on* the Theogonies *of Orpheus*, Pherecydes, etc., Berlin 1885 [see Note 63]. Then *Maaß*, Orpheus. 1895. [Maaß, Ernst: Orpheus, Munich 1895]

The tradition is very poor, as it emerged very late. Almost nothing remains from ancient times.

Orphic poetry is the product of centuries. The songs were not published at first, but contemporary elements were incorporated into them. Hence, the oldest form is difficult to reconstruct.

46 *Schömann*, Hesiod's Theogony, Berlin, 1868. | opuscula.
[Schömann, Georg Friedrich: The Hesiodic Theogony, interpreted and evaluated | ibid.: Opuscula academica, Vol. 2, Berlin 1857]

47 *Group*: Cults and Myths. 1887.
[Gruppe, Otto: Greek Cults and Myths in their Relations to Oriental Religions, Vol. 1 (no further volumes published), Leipzig 1887]

48 *Schömann opuscula* II 60 [De cupidine cosmogonico, in: see note 46, pp. 60–92]

49 *Theophrastus* *o>. 1.

50 *G. Hermann*, *Hymni Orphici* | *Lobeck*, Aglaophamus | *Abel*, Hymni Orphici (poor) | *Susemihl* Zeit. klass. Phil. 1890 p. 820. | *Dieterich* de hymnis orphicis Marburg 1891 | *Dieterich* Nekyia
[Orphica. Cum notis … ed. Gottfried Hermann, Leipzig 1805 | Lobeck, Christian August: Aglaophamus, Königsberg 1829 | Abel, Eugen: Orphica …, Leipzig 1885 | Susemihl, Franz: On the Orphic Theogonies, in: Neue Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie 141 (1890) 820–826
| Dieterich, Albrecht | Ibid.: Nekyia. Contributions to the Explanation of the Newly Discovered Apocalypse of Peter, Leipzig 1893]

Even before the 6th century, ‘Orpheus’ existed, for Onomakritos forged songs in his name during the time of Peisistratos. This presupposes other Orphic works. Just as Homer represents heroic poetry, so Orpheus represents the secret religious literature associated with the Dionysian cult. Its origins in Thrace, its development and its propagation remain obscure. Mysteries elude public scrutiny. We have known of them since Orphic literature entered the public domain. The outlook is pessimistic: death is salvation, and this present life a prison. [51]Such views were likely already held prior to the Homeric perspective. There is an afterlife that contains true being. Those who are Orphics are promised eternal joys, but the αμυστος is plagued by eternal torments. Herodotus is puzzled by these ideas. He believes they are Thracian or Egyptian. The latter connection is a misunderstanding; it is the wisdom of the Periegetes.

In the 7th century, this trend became widespread; the Orphic interpretation is likely connected with it, despite Rohde.[52] How is this Attic cult related to the Eleusinian one? We can only regard the content of the belief as very closely related, for in Eleusis too, the Mysteries secure a place on the Islands of the Blessed. Here Orphism could have taken root; an ancient belief system of agrarian origin is common to all the Mysteries. This is proven by the Hymn to Demeter 480 ff. (from the) 6th–7th (century). Pindar provides further details, though probably not from Orphic sources. fr. 114.[53] An inscription from Eleusis expresses the idea beautifully.[54]

The Orphics are characterised by their cosmogonic orientation.[55] Their theogony, attributed to Orpheus, was recognised as literary fiction as early as by Aristotle and Androtion.[56] The fragments are for the most part post-Christian, others Alexandrian. The age of the individual fragments has not yet been addressed; the two oldest appear to date from the 6th and 7th centuries. From Eudemus in Damascius vspì ἀρzων 382. 1) Night, from whom came Heaven and Earth, whose children are Tethys and Oceanus. This is influenced by Hesiod. Kern denies the independence of the Theogony, but Ξ 201 already contains something of the sort. Also ví (and Ξ 259). Here at least a hint. Here probably a common source, dependent on Hesiod. But how? This Theogony is otherwise lost. The most common cosmogony is the 0v pa†L%íatc; it is a song-theogony.[57] Chronos stands at the head; from him come Aether and Chaos; from both, a silver egg,

51 *Rohde Psyche* [Rohde, Erwin: Psyche. Freiburg etc. 1894]

52 *Wilamowitz Hom. Unters.* [Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von: Homerische Untersuchungen, Berlin 1884]

53 *Pindar fr. 114* [Bergk^2 = 137 Snell/M. = Clem. Al. Str. 3, 3, 17]

54 *Ephemeris Arch. 1883, p. 81*
['Ephimeris Arch. 22 (1883), 81: Epitaph of a hierophant who declares that he has discovered that death is not an evil but a blessing]

55 *Aelian, Miscellaneous Histories* 8. 6

56 *Plato, Politics II* 364 [e]

57 *Damascius p. 283* [see note 38]

hence Phanes, the all-illuminating one, “Ερως Μήττc. Finally, also 'Hptusvaîoc/ 'Hptuavaîoc. Zeller considers an Oriental influence possible here. But it must be Greek: ήρt ‘to swallow early’, the one swallowed early. He is male-female, bears the seed of heaven and earth, of all the gods save Zeus. Now Phanes' task is at an end. Here too, Hesiodic material. Zeus swallows him: uατάνωστc ‘Hptuavaíou.

A third theogony appears to exist in Apollonius,[58] that of Hieronymus is Alexandrian.

Outside the Orphic circle, other cosmogonies emerge, such as that of Epimenides:[59] Air and Night against Tartarus, there the world egg arises.[60] Epimenides is obscure; according to some, he is said to have purified Athens in 612, according to others, to have lived around 500, according to Plato. His writing, of course, is not genuine. His oracles were in existence during Peisistratus's time.[61] His Theogony was probably also in existence at that time.

Akousilaos, late 6th century; at the beginning of his genealogies, he presents a simplified version of Hesiod. Around 500 BC, the epics are rendered in prose, and the logographers and genealogists take them up. From Chaos come Erebus and Night; from them, Eros, etc., and Metis. Thus, there are also foreign influences.

[Pherecydes of Syros]

More significant is the figure of *Pherecydes of Syros*.[62] [*023*] He lived in 544 (Apollodorus, cited by Laertius), a generation younger than the Seven Sages of 584. This is a very rough estimate; he was likely somewhat younger. The ancients regarded him as a great astronomer.[63] On Syros, a heliotropion was displayed for observing the solstice. There are many such devices in Hellas. Now, in Homer's Odyssey, Συρίθ is called ὅθι τροναὶ ήελίοτο [15, 404]. That is, of course, quite something else. But the ancients associate him with Σîpoc. He is said to have been a pupil of Pittacus, and Pythagoras his pupil. He is a prose writer, but one who wrestles with language, for example

58 *Apoll. Rhod.* I 494

59 *Damasc.* op. cit.

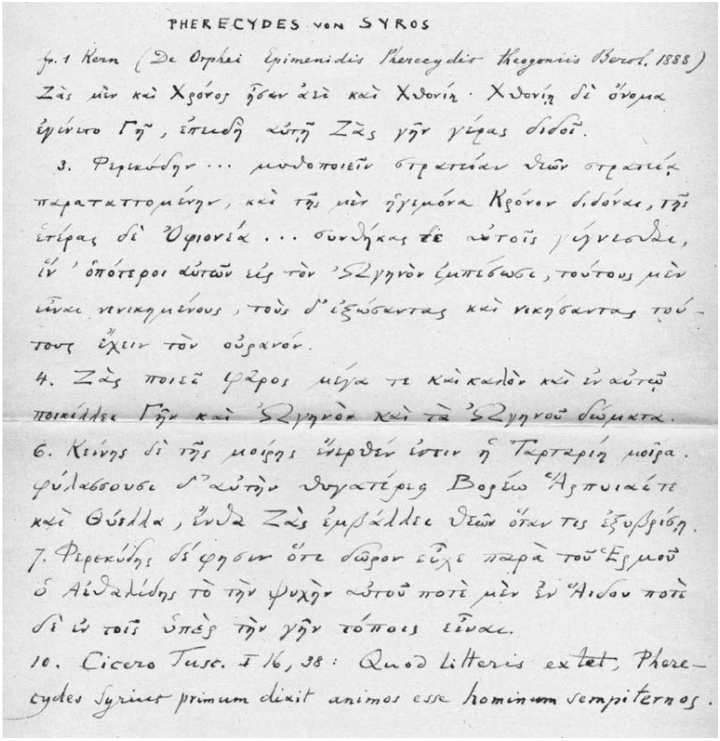
60 *Lukas* The Egg as a Cosmogonic Concept. 1894 Journal of the Society for Folklore.
[Lukas, Franz: Journal of the Society for Folklore 4 (1894) 227–243]

61 *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 91. 387*
[Diels: On Epimenides of Crete. in: Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1891, 387–403]

62 *Conrad on the Age of Pherecydes 1857.*
[Conrad, Johannes: On the Age and Cosmology of Pherecydes of Syria, Koblenz 1856]

63 *Martin, Mémoire sur les hypothèses physiques de la Grèce* | *Kern*, op. cit. | *Chiappelli,* Academia dei Lincei 1889 | *Diels, Archiv für die Geschichte der Philosophie* I. 1
[Martin, Thomas Henri: Mémoire sur les hypothèses astronomiques des plus anciens philosophes de la Grèce ..., Paris 1878 | Kern, Otto: De Orphei, Epimenidis, Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae, Berlin 1888 | Chiappelli, Alessandro: On the Theogony of Pherecydes of Syros, in: Accademia dei Lincei, rendiconti, series IV, vol. V (1889) 230–242 | Diels: On Pherecydes of Syros, in: Archive for the History of Philosophy 1 (1888) 11–15]

At the same time, Anaximander. The beginning is given in fr. 1 [core = DK 7 B 1]. From the very beginning, a triad, the first of which is Zeus, eternally identical with Χρόνος and Χθονίη, the Earth. The principles are eternal, uncreated. Zeus and Earth are opposites, yet elemental, and united with them is Χρόνος, the abstract principle. Furthermore, we hear of a battle of the gods, just as in Hesiod and the Orphics.[64] The peoples themselves have had different cults in various, conflicting stages of culture. Thus it comes to pass that the battle of the gods is introduced despite the eternal principle, two contradictory traditions. Κρόνος appears in the battle, not Zeus, nor Χρόνος, if they are not identical. And the chthonic god Ὄφιονεύς is at odds with him until a συνθήκη intervenes; whoever is driven into the Okeanos is to be defeated, the victor dwells in heaven. Now [reading uncertain] the outcome is explained as the result of a battle taking place on the earth, which is surrounded by the Okeanos.



PHERECYDES von SYROS

fr. 1 Kern (De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis Bonn. 1888)
Ζὰς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῇ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς γῆν γέρας ἔδοσ̄.

3. Φερεκύδην ... μυθοποιεῖν στρατείαν θεῶν στρατείᾳ παρατεττομένην, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἡγεμόνα Κρόνον ἀποδοῦναι, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ δὲ Ὀφιονέα ... συνθήκας τε αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἵν' ὁπότεροι αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν Ὠγηνὸν ἐμπέσωσι, τούτους μὲν εἶναι νενικημένους, τοὺς δ' ἐξώσαντας καὶ νικήσαντας τούτους ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν.

4. Ζὰς ποιεῖ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει Γῆν καὶ Ὠγηνὸν καὶ τὰ Ὠγηνοῦ δώματα.

6. Κεύνης δὲ τῆς μοίρης ὑπερδέξιόν ἐστιν ἡ Ταρταρίη μοῖρα. φύλακοι δ' αὐτῆς θυγατέρες Βορέου Ἅρπυιαί τε καὶ Θύελλα, ἣν δὲ Ζὰς ἐμβάλλει θεῶν ὅταν τις ἐξυβρίσῃ.

7. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν ὅτε δῶρον εἶχε παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ὁ Αἰδωνεὺς τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ποτὲ μὲν ἐν Ἅιδου ποτὲ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν τόποις εἶναι.

10. Cicero Tusc. I 16, 38: Quod litteris extet, Pherecydes Syrius primum dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos.

[Hectogram written by Diels for the lecture]

64 fr. 3 [Core = DK 7 B 4]

He also distinguishes three angles in which gods take up residence. From the seeds of Zeus(') time forms vîp, aíθήp, ű%ωp, and from the union with the others μízot arise the Fή, the abode of Ophioneus, then vîp, aíθήp, ű%ωp. This was in the Fντάμυzoc, in which those μsvsà vsντάμυzoc and palaces for Zeus and Χθονί0 were [*024*]described. This is what Diels surmises based on the extant titles. zpóνoc appears here as "Epωc", as 'Αρμονία.

Now, in fr. 4 [Core = DK 7 B 2], the cosmologist depicts the world: Zeus weaves a garment, containing Fή and 'Μι0νός=Okeanos; the garment likely represents the colourful surface of the earth with water, meadows, flowers, etc. The palace of Okeanos can likely be explained by Ξ 202.[65] He stretched the robe over a winged oak tree, cf. the world-ash Yggdrasil. It is winged – Mimnermus discussed the sun's path in fr. 12 [10, 7 D.]. There it says ìνόντspoc of the sun-boat, that is, floating, rising rapidly. What does Pherekydes mean? He conceives the earth as floating in a vast sea of air. Thus, at the threshold of Greek philosophy, we find two quite modern ideas; does this belong to him alone? It is a reflection of Milesian science, that of Anaximander; for the latter is somewhat older. But he is also likely dependent on Anaximander in his use of prose. Anaximander wrote in prose for his school; he consciously strives for science, and for him the new form is a moral imperative.

Pherecydes was also singled out by the ancients for having introduced the concept of immortality, fr. 10 [Kern = DK 7 A 5]. Cicero's statement is likely correct. But we do not see the connection. Theoretically, this was certainly not fully developed. The Orphics, however, conceived of immortality in the form of μsτsμ-†ízωστc. The body is the prison of the free soul; as punishment, it must purify itself of dross within the body. It is the uíυλoc τής μsν?σωc. So it must have been here too. [*025*] Fr. 7 [DK 7 B 8] also seems to support this. Hades and Heaven are the two extreme points of the uíυλoc. The Pythagorean tradition ties in with Aithalides; he is said to have returned to Earth as Pythagoras. Such ideas do indeed spread like a disease; we do not know who adopted them or who propagated them.

Gnomics.

A gnome is a piece of wisdom, a popular, concise saying. The Greeks took pleasure in them from early on, as Hesiod demonstrates.[66] General wisdom drawn from personal experience. In the *Paroimiacus* they are set to verse. They can still be discerned in Homer and Hesiod, and the metre is preserved in religious contexts too.[67] The Paroemiai contain a treasure trove of ancient Greek wisdom, reaching its culmination in the 6th century. Hellas has awakened; prudence is the greatest virtue

65 *Kern* l.c. [see note 63]

66 *Kirchhoff*, Hesiod's Admonitory Songs, Berlin 1889 [Kirchhoff, Adolf: Hes. M. an Perses]

67 *Usener's* Versification. [Usener, Hermann: Ancient Greek Versification, Bonn 1887]

...in turbulent times. At the forefront are Solon, Phocylides, and Theognis too; all of this is political and ethical. Solon remains calm, but Theognis tends towards a very pessimistic mood. His 'Ritter's Mirror' introduces Kyrnos to the ways of the world, but is steeped in bitterness. Hipparchus had boundary stelae erected with couplets, gnomes in pentameter, and place names in hexameter.[68] Thus, the wisdom of the sayings lay in the streets. It is the time of the Seven Sages = 584 according to Apollodorus; Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Pittacus [of Mytilene], Solon of Athens, Cleobulus [of Lindos], Chilon of Sparta, Myson of Chen in Laconia.[69] Their sayings stood in Delphi; the priests had collected the sayings. This proves the value of the sayings for the 6th century. Why 7? It is a Semitic round number. But in the [*026*] Apollonian cult it plays a role; in Delphi, where the sayings stood, this number was probably established. They were political figures. Dikaiarchos was right to say that they were not philosophers, but rather politicians. [70]Hermippos mentions 17 sages, but Thales, Solon, Bias and Pittakos are certain. [71]The seven sages appear almost exclusively in Book I of Diogenes.

The novel, too, draws upon it. Plutarch's *Banquet of the Seven Sages* gives us an insight into this.[72] The fable of the tripod is very old, dating from the 5th–4th centuries BC. The tripod that was found is set up by Solon in Delphi, but Delphi sends it to Thales, who had initially rejected it. The oracle must, of course, also declare Socrates to be the wisest.

Thales.

Thales comes from Miletus, where the name is common.[73] He is the son of Examyos. The name is Carian; he is a Thelide, so it is said.[74] And according to Herodotus, he is said to be of Phoenician origin. But these Phoenicians are Cadmeans. When the Cadmeans came to Ionia, however, they were Greeks. Thales remains a Greek. He stands out among the citizens of the first city of Ionia. Miletus's trade extends as far as Pontus and Thrace. The hard work of cultural development took place in the 8th and 7th centuries. Naukratis was also founded in Egypt around 664. Here, Miletus is the satellite city. The excavations have shown us the close connection with the motherland. And trade extends to Magna Graecia. The humanities, above all geography and mathematics, flourish. The first of these was Thales, wealthy and of high social standing. He is said to have established a federation for the Ionians

68 *Plato,* Hipparchus 228 C. [Pseudo-Plato]
69 *Plato Protag. 343. A*
70 *Diogenes I 40* [Wehrli 1 fr. 30]
71 *Stobaeus Flor. III 79.* [ed. Meineke Vol. I pp. 86–90 on the Seven Sages]
72 *Diogenes* I. 18. [1, 13]
73 Roehl I. A. 483
[Roehl, Hermann (ed.): Inscriptiones graecae antiquissimae, Berlin 1882, No. 483 p. 129]
74 *Diogenes I 22 | R. Pr.* p. 6 [DK 11 A 1]

then had.[75] [*027*] He also accompanied Cyrus and built a canal for him. That may well be true. Or perhaps he was merely an Ionian. But his most notable achievement was his prediction of the solar eclipse.[76] The battle, however, took place between Astyages and Cyaxares; then he attributes to Thales a knowledge that Hipparchus was the first to acquire (the lunar parallax). He is said to have borrowed the solar cycle from the Babylonians. But this Saros cycle only enables the calculation of lunar eclipses. It must have been a coincidence, or the matter is different.[77] Thales will have provided the physical explanation. He frees the Greeks from their fear of the phenomenon. In much the same way, Sulpicius Gallus, who explains the lunar eclipse, has been made a calculator.[78] Thales, however, was certainly a contemporary of the eclipse of 22 May 585. Even in antiquity, Eudemos and Demetrius of Phalerum had arrived at this year in opposition to Herodotus, as did Eratosthenes and Apollodorus = Ol. 48.4. Hence 484 for the ἀυμή.[79] The death of Thales in Sardis(') is taken as a given. He must have reached maturity in 485. We know no more. The ναυτυή ἀστρολομία, rules for sailors, seems to have contributed greatly to his fame, in the manner of Aratus, though apocryphal; there are also other authors attributed to it.[80] Instead of the Great Bear, the Little Bear is recommended therein as a guiding star. Thales' views were probably not written down, but there may well be a sound tradition here. According to Aristotle, Thales is the founder of physics,[81] he inquires into the causes, thereby establishing the science, the Ionian ὶστορί0. Water is the primordial source; from it all things came into being, and to it all things return. Aristotle suggests that, because food is liquid, heat arises from
[*028*] from the water.

Until then, becoming had been broken down into various stages and attributed to fantastical principles. Now Thales asserts the constancy of matter and the unity of becoming; he proceeds rationally and is the first rationalist. He seeks the ultimate cause. Aristotle's conjectures are not Thales's work. He probably took his cue from Okeanos, who had a cosmogonic significance, e.g. in Ξ. All springs flow from him; he waters everything. The earth floats on the water like a piece of wood.[82] The same was true of the Babylonians; it was the general conception. Earthquakes play a part in this conception; one feels as though on a rocking ship.[83] Similarly among the poets, cf. ɥατήοzoc, 0νοσίzθων. Thus Thales reveals himself here as an Ionian. The stars etc. are carried and nourished by the vapours of water. The deity absorbs the rising water; the vapour provides the driving force. But how did living beings come into being? The

75 [Ritter/] *Preller p. 7.* C. [DK 11 A 4]
76 *Herod. I. 74* [DK 11 A 5]
77 *H. Martin, Mémoire sur les hypothèses* etc., Paris 1878, p. 22. [see note 63]
78 *Cicero, Republics* I 15
79 *Rhein. Mus. 33. 16* [recte 31, 16: Diels (see note 25) p. 16]
80 *Diogenes I 23.*
81 *Arist. Met. A.* 3. *983 b 20* | R. Pr. 8. [DK 11 A 12]
82 *Arist. On the Heavens 2. 13.* [294 a 28 = DK 11 A 14]
83 *Diels' Doxography.* [225]

Cosmogonies introduced Eros and so on. Thales had to proceed rationally, but how, we do not know. Thales believed that νάντα νλήρ0 θσων sivat, that is, everything has a soul. [84] The soul also permeates the inanimate, and even the stone that attracts iron, that is, the magnet. An immanent force lies within the primordial substance, thus a unity.[85] This is ancient Greek hylozoism. But this conception, too, arises gradually, not from Homer's light-hearted world of gods, but from the lower stages of religion, namely fetishism.

Anaxagoras tried in vain to alter Thales' monism and to squeeze a deity out of it.[86] [*029*]

Other ideas, such as that the heavenly bodies are glowing masses, that matter is infinitely divisible, that empty space is inconceivable, etc., and the four elements (Thales's 'vspì ápzων') are apocryphal, and of course he also teaches the immortality of the soul.[87] But he was a mathematician.[88] His most famous discovery was the explanation of the solar eclipse. Then he determined the tropics [i.e. the solstices]. Finally, he established the properties of the (triangle), the circle bisected by its diameter, the (triangles) within the circle being isosceles, the (angles) in the isosceles (triangle) being equal at the base, etc.[89] All this is practical wisdom, not theoretical knowledge. But Thales certainly made observations in Miletus and built a system. The fact that Thales engaged so energetically with the practical side speaks only in favour of Greek science. That its founder was a mathematician was important for it; he learnt the method there for genuine science. And in water he finds the primordial substance; the method is sound, the result is incorrect. Thales's relationship with Egypt is entirely unclear. And it all comes down to the method, which is lacking in Egypt. [90]

Anaximander.

Schleiermacher first elucidated his thought. His date is established by Apollodorus: Olympiad 42.3 = 610 BC. He was of noble birth, stood at the head of a colony on the Pontus – hence the starting point. He is called 'Ruler of the Herd', a fine name which also appears on inscriptions from Miletus. Father of Praxiades, he was the first to write in (Milesian) prose vspì φίσεωc, but the

84 *Arist. de anima A 411 ª 7.* (=) R. Preller 10. | *Plato leges 10.* 866 B. (=) *R. Pr. 11.* b. [DK 11 A 22 | recte Platon 899 b = R. Pr. 11 d = DK 11 A 22]

85 *R. Pr. 10.* 10. b. a. [DK 11 A 1, 22]

86 *Arist. Met. A 484. 3. ?* | *Doxogr. 203 b. 6* [Met. 984 a 3 ff. | recte Dox. 302 b 11 ?]

87 *Theaitet* 174 A. | *Diog I.* 23 [recte 1, 24]

88 *Proclus on Euclid* [19 = 65,3 Friedlein; R. Pr. 8 = DK 11 A 11]

89 *Bretschneider: Geometers before Euclid* | *Tannery:* Pour l'histoire de la science hellène. [Bretschneider, Carl Anton: Die Geometrie und die Geometer vor Eukleides, Leipzig 1870 | Tannery, Paul: ..., Paris 1887]

90 *E. Meyer, History of Antiquity*, p. 52. [Meyer, Eduard: History of Antiquity, Vol. 1, Stuttgart 1884, p. 52]

The title dates from the 4th century. We have almost nothing. He was soon forgotten; only Theophrastus knew of him. And yet he was a genius.[91] Schleiermacher recognised in the avstpov the chaos of the ancient cosmologists, a form of matter. How did Anaximander arrive at this? (Arist. Physics R. Pr. 14 a [DK 12 A 14 p. 85, 12]) If ever new beings emerge from the primordial substance, it must be infinite. What was there before? Ever-changing entities, that is, an infinite series. And so [*030*] he requires infinite primordial matter. And spatially infinite as well. Below and above is the avstpov, (air, ether, avstpov), a concept very closely related to chaos. Theophrastus says it was a completely indeterminate substance. That is certainly correct. It was already conceived in antiquity as a middle ground between air and water. But Neuhäuser too, for example. They compare R. Pr. p. 14 b[92]with R. Pr. 13 (p. 16) [DK 12 A 15]. Aristotle is said to have used Anaximander's terms here, contrary to his usual practice, but uuβspvãv very frequently, not Anaximander's t(erminus) t(ech-nicus). And Aristotle says immediately afterwards that the philosophers of μστα(í assumed that everything arises from condensation and rarefaction. Anaximander did not know this; rather, it is Anaximenes's contribution. And Physics III 4 has nothing to do with Anaximander either.[93] And the μστα(í was evidently conceived by an unknown Ionian physicist. Anaximander gave no thought whatsoever to the name of the avstpov. It is, after all, still a childish conception.[94]

The avstpov is eternal and immortal; the same goes for άμήρως – none of this is a quotation. After all, it is written there: οὶ νλσῖστων των φτλοσόφων!

So eternal, infinite—

Indeed, the avstpov is immortal. He is also a hylozoist. He allows chaos to split into opposites:[95] warm and cold – dry and moist – and others, that is, not the four elements. Here lies the seed of the opposites of the Pythagoreans and Heraclitus; from this manifold duality, individual beings arise. How does our cosmos come into being? The fragment is also from Theophrastus.[96] From the Eternal, a seed mass was secreted; a sphere of fire grew around the Earth,

91 *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 1811* | *Tannery*, op. cit., p. 81. | *Neuhäuser, Anaximander 1883.* | *Natorp, Phil. Monats-hefte 1884,* | *Baeumker, Das Problem der Materie, Münster 1890;* | *Rhein. Mus. 31, 24* | *Aelian, Var. hist.* | *Kirchhoff, Alph.* 26 | *R. Pr. 13. 12* | *Lütze,* Über das avstpov. | *Arist. Physics 203 A* 17. [Schleiermacher, Fr. D. E.: On Anaximander. in: Treatises of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences from the years 1804–1811, Berlin 1815, 97–124 = Collected Works III, 2 (1838) 171–206 | Tannery, see note 89 | Neuhäuser, Joseph: Anaximander of Miletus, Bonn 1883 | Natorp, Paul: On the Principle and Cosmology of Anaximander, in: Philos. Monatshefte 20 (1884) 367–398 | Baeumker, Clemens: … Münster 1890 | Diels (see note 25) p. 24 ff. | Ael. var. hist. 3, 17 | Kirchhoff, Adolf: Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets, Berlin ² 1867, p. 26 | DK 12 A 9 | Lütze, Friedrich: On Anaximander's Apeiron, Leipzig 1878]

92 *R. Pr. p. 14. b.* [cf. DK 12 A 16]

93 *Jahn's Jahrb. 131. 827*
[Baeumker, Clemens: Supposed Aristotelian references to Anaximander's avstpov, in: Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik 131 (1885) 827–832]

94 *Arist. Physics* III. 4 203 b | R. Pr. 16 [DK 12 A 15]

95 *R. Pr. N 14. a* [not in DK, Simpl. Phys. 150, 20 Diels]

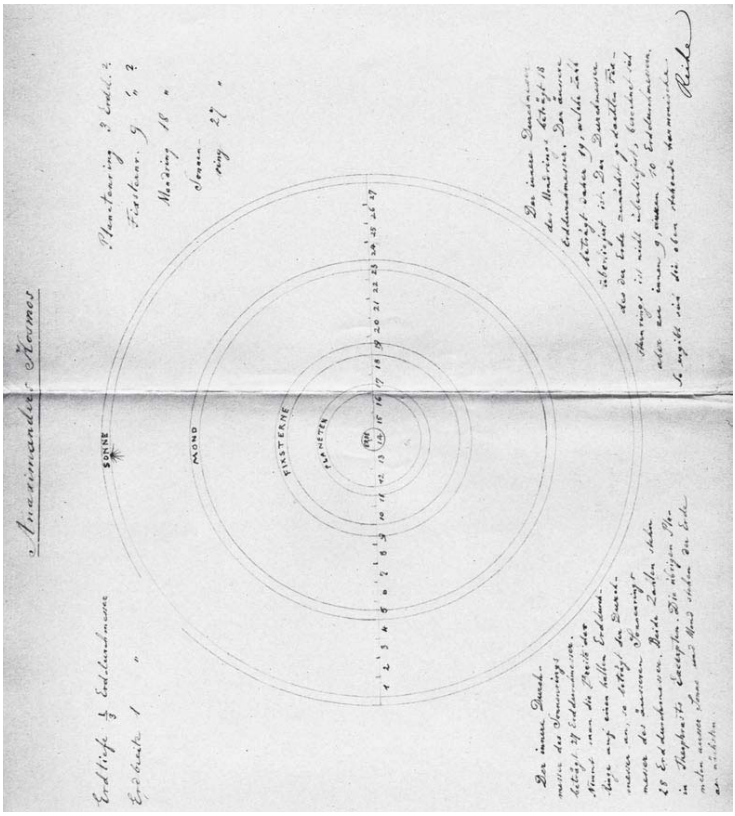
96 *R. Pr. 14. b* [DK 12 A 10]

but it burst, and fire uíuλot formed.[97] The Earth, however, remains at the centre, because it is equidistant from all sides.[98] It is curved in a circle, comparable to a stone pillar, one-third of its height being its width; it is a pillar drum. Perhaps the passage [*031*] is corrupted. Thus Anaximander follows the older tradition. But Okeanos has vanished; the Earth has expanded. The stars are now a ring of fire, surrounded by 'άήρ', i.e. air in a condensed state: mist. Imagine a cartwheel consisting of a rim and a hub. This rim is pierced in places; from these holes the fire radiates down onto the Earth. But to prevent the fire from escaping elsewhere, the air must be vsvtv0μ?voc [sic]. If the holes are blocked, darkness ensues. This is also how the phases of the moon arise. Now the uíuλot are given numbers: the Sun 27 times larger than the Moon; at the very top stands the Sun, then the fixed stars. According to others, the Moon in Anaximander is 19 times larger than the Earth (R. Pr. 14 C d) [DK 12 A 22](.) Perhaps it should read that the Sun is 27 times larger than the Earth. Anaximander likely took Earth (to) Moon = 18 + Earth 19 Sun (to) Earth 27 Earth diameters. Anaximander's system has been measured against the calculations of the Alexandrians. The figures are likely purely schematic and mystical. The height of the Earth = 1/3 of its width; this is purely aesthetic and religious. The number 3 plays a major role; this is where Pythagoras later came into play. Mathematics forms the basis of Thales's school. And there is something magical about the number. [99] Nor is Anaximander lacking in mystical elements. Twenty-seven is the holiest number; twenty-seven virgins sing at Roman festivals; the numbers are intended merely to indicate the sequence and the sanctity. cf. R. Pr. 14 C. b. [DK 12 A 21 p. 87, 10] νρήστ0ρ is not a whirlwind, but rather a bellows. Yet a colossal advance is evident here: the sun is constantly circling; a uíuλoc is present here, a concept to which Aristotle still adheres, and with him the ancient world. Here the mathematician has had his say. It is a stroke of genius. The Milky Way may have prompted him to think of the rings; for the fixed stars, he would have needed many rings. And the planetary ring – for planets were known, since Thales had already drawn a star map. He also knows the obliquity of the ecliptic (λo(óc oblique!). The whole thing rotates constantly, making the Earth's floating motion easier to understand. The arrangement is childlike, but a great idea underlies it. Such a hypothesis, which holds the whole together according to law, could have had a profound effect. Here, first of all, a uόσμoc. This idea is truly Greek; the Greek senses the law that also satisfies his aesthetic sense. Anaximander, who drew up the first map of the Earth, certainly also drew up the first map of the heavens.

97 *Doc. 579, 13.* [DK 12 A 10]

98 *R. Pr.* 14 c. [DK 12 A 11 (3–5)]

99 *Aristotle, On the Heavens, Book I.* | *Diels, Sibylline Leaves.* [268 a 10, cf. DK 58 B 17 | Diels: Sib. Bl., Berlin 1890, esp. pp. 37–46]



[Hectogram on Anaximander written by Diels]

He imagined the Earth as a flat cylinder.[100] He discussesthe origin of humankind: when fire and dry matter separated, whilst everything was still covered in water, all living creatures were fish, in keeping with the swamp in which they had to live.[101] Gradually, they became human. Plutarch introduces the Assyrians here,[102] a point even Ranke has noted. But it is a fable. The newborn human is helpless; thus he cannot have come into the world in that state, so

100 *R. Pr.* 18. c.| Plut. Strom. [DK 12 A 10]
101 *R. Pr.* N 16. [DK 12 A 30]
102 *Plut. quaest. conv. p. 4* [DK 12 A 30]

If man had come into the world differently,[103] he would arrive at the idea of metamorphosis – that is, Darwin's idea. Zeller was perhaps too cautious.[104] But the idea is lost. It is curious that Anaximander, so consistent, is not free from mysticism. Pessimism was quite widespread in the 6th century. Heraclitus displays this trait strongly. And Anaximander displays it in the very genuine fragment[105] . The unity of matter is a law of nature, for the zpónou tá(tc demands it. Anaximander regards separate existence as an injustice; destruction is the punishment for the presumption of having separated oneself from the All-Mother. The avstpov is true existence.[106] The idea soon emerged in India within Buddhism. The doctrine of original sin was also recorded at that time. And in India, as in Greece, it led to pantheism.

The ancient Zeus is the Orphic expression of this. Anaximander could not resist this view; in this respect he is a child of his time, unlike Schopenhauer. Anaximander, too, has generation after generation succeed one another in the cosmos, but a new world arises immediately from the destroyed, dried-up world, from a cosmic conflagration. This is where Heraclitus comes in, and above all the Stoics. Did Anaximander have several worlds existing side by side? (Aug. de civ. dei 8 cf. Dox. [173 = DK 12 A 17]) The equal distance between the worlds is also an aesthetic requirement; it looks authentic. Schleiermacher, too, accepted the coexistence of the worlds for the sake of ai%toc uív0στc, and rightly so, despite Zeller. Zeller underestimated him altogether. It is in this coexistence that his system is finally rounded off.

Anaximander replaced the sensory principle of water with a system, but we may now safely attribute to Thales many things we would not otherwise have assumed: the pupil explains the teacher.

Anaximenes

Anaximenes brings about a reaction, but also progress.[107] He
hails from Miletus; his father's name was Eurystratos. Apollodorus's account is confused: 546 BC = conquest of Sardis, 528–24 BC (died). Thirty-four years younger than Anaximander, he writes in plain prose. His principle is the air that surrounds us.[108] It is closest to fire and water, resembling chaos. He calls it infinite. Like all the others, he extrapolates from the microcosm to the macrocosm. In animals and humans, the breath = life †uzή.

103 *Plut. Strom.* | *Dox. 579, 17* [DK 12 A 10 end]

104 *Zeller*, Papers of the Berlin Academy, 1878, p. 111.
[Zeller, Eduard: On Darwin's Greek Predecessors. Treatises of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1878, Berlin 1879, 111–124]

105 *R. Pr. 13.* N 12 [DK 12 B 1]

106 *Soph. Oed. Col.* 1(,)226 | *Oldenberg Buddha 117* [Oldenberg, Hermann: Buddha, Berlin 1881]

107 *R. Pr. p. 20.* [Beginning of the chapter on Anaximenes]

108 R. Pr. No. 18. [DK 13 B 2]

The air is constantly in motion, as Anaximander says, leading to condensation or rarefaction, towards water and fire. Anaximenes is the first to introduce the concepts of νίυνωστc and μάνωστc. The moist precipitation must have taught him this. This explains Anaximander's opposites not through separation, but through rest, which, when transformed into motion, develops in different ways. It also explains the change in temperature: dilution = warming and vice versa.[109] The condensation of the air brings everything into being; the earth floats there like a leaf in the air. He is far more childlike than Anaximander; so too are the Sun and the Moon conceived. He not only separates the fixed stars from the Sun and the Moon, but places them as an outermost ring, within which the stars are set like nails, 0μνsν0μμ?νoc [034] άστήρ, stella fixa. This is held by all of antiquity. And this shell is solid, crystalline, the boundary of the υόσμoc. The other stars are also condensed; the moon is illuminated by the sun,[110] and he is the first to explain lunar eclipses. The rings are said to be inclined to the Earth's axis,[111] encircling it like a hat (think of a hat perched on the nape of the neck!). The celestial bodies are glowing masses, yet still called 'gods'. Augustine takes him to task for this.[112] His homespun observations fail to grasp Anaximander's concept of coexistence. Yet he observes rain, snow, lightning, etc., with no lack of insight. His influence lasts into the time of Socrates. With Anaxagoras, and above all the minor philosophers draw upon him. The bridge is a nameless %ta%ozή. But the school is based in Miletus; the originator of μστa(í belongs here. The primordial principle is now placed in the centre between water and fire. *Hippon* also belongs here, along with *Idaios*, 5th century, both of little significance. Some information on Hippon is known from the Geneva Iliad scholia [see note 314], and other details from the íατρtuà Ms-νώvsta [see note 15]. The Ionian school, however, comes to an end with Anaximenes, a new flowering in Magna Graecia.

Pythagoras

A web of legends soon formed around him.[113] Aristotle, who often wrote about him, almost always refers to him simply as 'the Pythagoreans, the followers of Pythagoras'. But Heraclides Ponticus and Dicaearchus are by no means so cautious; the Pythagorean legend takes shape. The Alexandrians loved the Pythagoreans; indeed, there was even a community that was very active in literary circles and produced many forgeries. As Apollonius of Tyana and

109 *R. Pr.* N 20 | *Dox. 475.2* [DK 13 B 1 | recte Dox. 477,2]

110 *Eudemus in Theo Hiller* 191. 1
[DK 13 A 16 = Theonis Smyrnaei … expositio rer. mathemat. ed. Eduardus Hiller, Leipzig 1878]

111 *R. Pr. N 21. 6* [DK 13 A 7 § 6]

112 *Aug. de civ. dei* 8. 2 [DK 13 A 10]

113 *Chaignet*, Pythagore et la philosophie, Paris 1872. | *Zeller*, Ber. Berl. Acad. 1889. 985.
[Chaignet, Anthelme Édouard: … pythagoricienne. | Zeller, Eduard: On the Earliest Evidence Concerning the History of Pythagoras. Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1889, 985–996]

When Moderatus writes about Pythagoras, novels like those of Iamblichus emerge.[114] The further one moves away from Pythagoras, the more one 'knows' about him. It was Zeller who first shed light on this. Whilst Zeller proceeded with caution, research has gone a step further. Windelband [*035*] wishes to dismiss Pythagoras entirely as a philosopher, claiming he was merely a founder of a religion. But that goes too far.[115]

One must proceed with caution, as Aristotle summarises the entire school (up to) his own time; we must seek to distinguish the individual doctrines of Anaximander and examine the influence they exerted on others. His fundamental idea is that number is the basis of everything. [116] The scientific approach of the Ionian philosophers, Anaximander's harmony, supports this. But the matter is not entirely clear. Number is sometimes matter, sometimes the archetype of things. One might subsequently identify two sects.[117] But Aristotle attributes both views to the same people; the notion that things are 'of the same nature' as numbers is explained, according to Philolaus, as meaning that things resemble the primordial mother of all things.[118] Thus· both are one. The abstract conception of number is likely of later origin and inspired by Plato.[119] In the earliest times, when mathematics was being discovered, an overestimation of mathematics is quite natural: vsptσσόν, άρτονsptσσά (divided by 2 they yield odd numbers, e.g. 10!), aρτta (odd). The straight line is the avstpov, the aρττov is the finite; thus, the finite and the infinite are the two opposites, the Anaximandrian concept. Odd numbers are regarded as superior. [120] Thus the table of opposites develops, probably in the 5th century. There are 10 opposites; %?uac is a sacred number. Harmony governs the world.[121] It is active in everything, including the opposites. The octave is harmony, 1:2.[122] This was transferred from music to the cosmos. In Plato, this led to unity as the cause, and to duality as the receptacle of matter. This was later incorporated into Pythagoras as well, [*036*] but in Pythagoras there is still no dualism; the deity is unified, but not as harmony above the opposites.[123] The world as a gradual development towards the deity is unknown to them, but it is contained within the table of opposites, not as a principle at Beginning.

114 *Zeller Lectures* I. 30
[Zeller, Eduard: Pythagoras and the Pythagorean Sages, in: ibid.: Lectures and Treatises, Leipzig ² 1875, 33–55]

115 *Diels. III 451* Archive for the History of Philosophy
[Diels: A Forged Book of Pythagoras, in: Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos. 3 (1890) 451–472]

116 *R. Pr. 52. d* [DK 24 A 3, 58 B 12, 22 etc.]

117 *Brandis II 211* [Brandis, C. A.: Handbook, as in note 43]

118 *Suppl. Arist. III. 1 issue* [see note 15]

119 *R. Pr. 49.* [Pythagoreans: DK 44–58]

120 *R. Pr. N 55.* [DK 58 B 5]

121 *R. Pr. N 56* [DK 44 B 6]

122 *R. Pr. 56. c* [DK 44 B 6 p. 409, 10 ff.]

123 *R. Pr. p. 57.* N 58 | *Arist. Met. 1072 B. 28* (=) *R. Pr. 60 N 61* | *Nicom. Ethics I. 4.*
[DK 44 B 8, B 20 (p. 416, 19 ff.) | DK 58 B 11 | DK 58 B 6]

Are numbers, then, geometric quantities? Aristotle seems to suggest this at one point.[124] A system has thus been constructed, but one that leads only to the v?pac, to the outline; now this v?pac is supposed to attract the avstpov, thereby producing matter and volume. This is roughly how Plato conceives of the matter. But for Pythagoras, the number is merely the formal principle,[125] the avstpov conceived materially in Anaximander; we know no more than that.

The specific application of the principle of numbers is straightforward. Human life proceeds in heptads. They call the number 2 %ó(a, because it is changeable! There are many contradictions here. The decimal principle demands the %?uac = %szác, the encompassing one, likely with significant etymology. Philolaos calls it great, the guide of the divine and human being.[126] It is perfect; true knowledge exists only through it. It contains the first four numbers, hence the number four is sacred; it appears in an oath.

In music, the octave, fourth and fifth are its principal parts. The notes are determined by the length of the proportion, which the ancients generally overestimate. The regular figures, the cube (earth) and the octahedron (air), are modelled on specific celestial bodies, as Philolaus [127]already noted; also the v?μντον, the all-encompassing quintessence invented for the sake of the numerical system, with 12 faces.

The world has a core, the primordial fire, also known as Hestia, the citadel of Zeus, etc. [128]From there the world is built, much like Anaximander's avstpov. [*037*] And a fire encircling the world, Olympus, encompasses the whole. Ten circles around Hestia: 1) the fixed-star sky – as in Anaximenes. 2) the planets with the Sun and Moon, the Earth, the counter-Earth. This is said to make up the number ten. Thus, hardly an original idea. The counter-Earth lies between the Earth and the central fire, facing it. The counter-Earth remains on the uninhabited side of the Earth; by obscuring it, it causes lunar eclipses; the Sun is made of glass, reflecting light like a burning mirror. It is on the same side as the Earth by day, on the other side by night. The celestial bodies are fixed on transparent spheres, thus an improved version of Anaximander.

Schiaparelli has declared the whole system to be of recent origin.[129] But the evidence here is inconclusive, for everything is in a jumble. And the connection with Empedocles proves this. He is not an original thinker; he borrows from everywhere: even from the Pythagoreans; his idea of the fiery hemisphere seems to come from there. For the whole theory is artificially introduced in Empedocles, not borrowed from Empedocles. But the number 10 of the worlds is probably Jung's, for the harmony of the spheres requires 8 worlds. Earth and counter-earth according to Böckh

124 *R. Pr. N 64. a* [DK 58 B 23, 45/3, 58 B 38, 58 B 9 etc.]
125 *R. Pr. 63 b.* [Reference unclear]
126 *R. Pr. 51a* [Arist. Met. 986a 8, DK 47 B 5, Theologumena Arithm. 10, p. 60 Ast etc.]
127 *R. Pr. 65 N 67 a* [DK 44 B 12]
128 *R. Pr. N 68. a* [DK 44 A 16]
129 *Schiaparelli, The Precursors of Copernicus.*
[Schiaparelli, Giovanni Virginio: … nell' antichità, Milan 1873]

2 hemispheres [130], Zeller disagrees [see page 10, p. 421]. But if Anaximander and Anaximenes conceived of it as a disc, then so did Pythagoras [131].If the Earth was conceived of in this way, it was impossible to see the 'opposite Earth'. With a round Earth, this is easily refuted. The correct order of the planets was also recognised early on (Parmenides).

Pythagoras' theory marks a step forward; he breaks with the geocentric system: the Earth moves, thus creating day and night; the Earth revolves around a central point, but [*038*] now one could easily substitute the Sun for the primordial fire. However, this only gradually gained acceptance. Not among the Pythagoreans.[132] Hiketas of the Pythagoreans allows only the Earth to move; everything else remains at rest. Ekphantos and Heraclides Ponticus hold similar views.[133] The latter elaborated the theory in greater detail. Aristarchus of Samos advocated the heliocentric view in vain. In 1616, the Copernican doctrine was placed on the Index as falsa illa doctrina Pythagorica!

One consequence of the rapid movement of the stars is the harmony of the spheres.[134] Every movement produces a sound, the speed being proportional to the distance; thus, different distances produce different sounds, and the sounds are proportional to one another. Pythagoras alone perceives the harmony that we can no longer hear. The 7 planets = the 7 strings of the heptachord; but the Earth and the counter-Earth do not fit into this. The whole is a metaphor, but the contradictions are scarcely reconciled at all among the Pythagoreans. Here too, in this speculation, the correct idea must not be overlooked: sounds are vibrations; this is what they discover. The distances recognised as a system, here for the first time consistently and vividly.

The uppermost celestial sphere, enveloped in fire; the Milky Way forms part of it. Beyond lies the infinite, empty and air-like. The whole world divided into 3 spheres (Olym-pos, Cosmos (up to) the Moon, Uranos (up to) Earth). Κόσμος is said to have been invented by Pythagoras, the οὔρανος region of μστ?ωρα. The boundaries exemplary for antiquity: τὰ ὶνὸ Σsλήν0ν = earthly world. There are alternating states of the world; what we have now is but a moment that will return once more [135]in [*039*] the same manner. This is connected with the Great Year and the transmigration of souls. This too is exemplary, cf. ἀνουατάσταστ νάβτων [in the Stoa]. The transmigration of souls as described by Xenophanes is also attested to[136] by Herodotus, Empedocles and Bion. It must have originated with Pythagoras himself; Philolaus codifies it, and later thinkers recognise it as a key feature. Anaximander and the Orphics had conceived of death as redemption; this is further developed here, σωμα σήμα †uzής, the

130 *Boeckh, Minor Writings* III [Leipzig 1866, 280–283]
131 *Doxogr. 284.* [probably a mishearing; Dox. 492 = DK 28 A 44 ?]
132 *R. Pr. p. 69 c.* [DK 44 A 17, DK 50/1, DK 51/5]
133 *Doxogr. 378.* [a 10]
134 *R. Pr. 67.* [DK 58 B 35]
135 *R. Pr. N 70. a* [DK 58 B 34]
136 *R. Pr. 71. N 73.* [DK 21 B 7]

The soul bound to the body as a punishment.[137] And Pythagoras is said to have been in Hades; his descent into the underworld is the subject of a text to which the novel is linked; Aethalides is said to have possessed his soul first, then Euphorbos, and finally Hermotimos. Of course, Pythagoras is not the first to descend: Orpheus was a model; in India, too, Nasikrates descends to the god of death.[138] The connections with the Orphics are difficult to uncover, but Pythagoras was probably dependent on the Orphics despite Lobeck.[139] Rohde believes that the Orphics spread the doctrine in Attica, whilst Pythagoras did so in the West; yet it did not originate in the West.[140] Its origin appears to have been Thracian, according to ancient sources. We know no more. Metempsychosis has connections with ancient Greek belief, but its emergence was brought about by an external stimulus.

This eschatology has had an unprecedented moral impact. It was intended to educate the young in self-improvement and self-discipline; here there is a connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries, with which it also shares similarities in outward form. In Italy and Sicily, a large circle soon formed around him [141] and these views influenced Plato, Hellenism, the Neopythagoreans, the Jews and the Christians. [*040*]

The Pythagoreans.

The increasingly prominent political-aristocratic element proved detrimental.[142] Is that why he left Samos? He found a favourable environment in the West. But soon the Pythagoreans' συν?%ptat became the focus of fierce fighting; eventually the conflict was settled, though we do not know the exact date.[143] Cylon, a distinguished Crotonian and Pythagoras's chief opponent, died whilst fleeing to Metapontum. Admittedly, the account is very uncertain. 479 [?]. Kylon's revolt may not have taken place until 440. Archippus fled from him to Taranto; around 430 [middle digit illegible] most of them, including Philolaus(,) fled to Thebes; Archytas remained. Philolaus(')'s pupil Eurytos, the 'last' master, along with Aristoxenus, are

137 *R. Pr. 71. 74a* | *Plato, Cratylus 400b* | *Rheinische Museum 26.* 584 *Rohde* | *Carus,* Posthumous Works III 368.
[DK 44 B 14 || Rohde see note 37 | Carus, Friedrich August: Posthumous Works, Vol. 3: History of Psychology, Leipzig 1808, there p. 168 ff. on the pre-Socratics]

138 *Oldenberg Buddha 55.*

139 *Lobeck* Aglaophamus [see note 50, p. 943 ff.]

140 *Proclus in A. Mai, Spicilegium Rom. 8. 97*
[Ηρουλου Λυυτου … stc τον sv Ηολττsta του Ηλατωνος μυθων υνομν0μα, in: Spicilegium Romanum ed. Angelo Mai, vol. 8, Rome 1842, 664–712, here 697 ff.]

141 *Dieterich Nekyia.* [see note 50]

142 *Rhein. Mus. 26 Rohde* | *Zeller 1. 302*
[Rohde, see note 37 | Zeller, Eduard: The Philosophy of the Greeks, Vol. 1, Leipzig [5] 1892]

143 *Polybius II. 39*

his pupils at the same time. The others then follow in their footsteps, for the term 'last' refers to Aristoxenus, from whom the others draw their ideas. And the Pythagoreans are constantly mocked for their meagre way of life and their fantasies about the afterlife.[144] This Cynic, later school is represented by Diodorus of Aspendos. But Callimachus, too, secretly aligns himself with them. [145] Ennius was influenced by them; in Cicero's time, the sect of the Sestians flourished anew in Pythagorean doctrine. And in Neopythagoreanism, the seed sprouts anew. Thus had religion been elevated in Italy, and at the same time a bold champion emerges, a rationalist: Xenophanes. Pythagoras leaves the tradition as it stands. Xenophanes, the Eleatic, sets himself in opposition to it.

The Eleatics.

The assessment of the Eleatics [146]is based largely on a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, ed. Apelt 1888 Tb. [Aristotle, purportedly on plants … on Melissus, Xenophanes and Gorgias, ed. Otto Apelt, Leipzig (Teubner) 1888] Chapters 1 and 2 on Melissus, 3 and 4 on Xenophanes, 5 and 6 on Gorgias. Zeno was also once discussed.

Victor Cousin, Fragments philosophiques, 1865 [Xenophanes, founder of the Eleatic school, in: Cousin, V.: Nouveaux fragments philosophiques, Paris 1828, 9–95]. *Fr. Kern*, Programme, Stettin 1874 [Kern, Franz: On Xenophanes of Colophon]. *Freudenthal Berlin 1886* Theology of Xenophanes [Freudenthal, Jacob: On the Theology …]. *Hiller Anthology* [Anthologia Lyrica … post Th. Bergkium ed. Eduardus Hiller, Leipzig [4] 1890] [*041*]

Xenophanes, son of Dexion, lived (until) 480, reaching the age of about 100, and was a native of Colophon.[147] At the time of his birth, Colophon was flourishing with the Homerids and Mimnermos, enjoying a period of great prosperity. But as early as 545, Colophon was destroyed and subjugated by Harpagos and Cyrus. Even when drinking wine, he remembers this event. In Hellas, Sicily and Italy, he wanders from place to place; he also comes to Elea, where his pupil Parmenides was active. He does not wish to win the favour of the great and powerful through frivolous poems, so he lives in poverty; even at the symposium, he is serious. Nor does he wish to hear of the quarrels of the gods, nor of the old tales of the centaurs.[148] For he wishes to know the gods as pure

144 *Diogenes VIII. 38*

145 *Hecker* Comment. de Anthol. graeca | *Rohde Roman 67*
[Hecker, Alphons: Commentatio critica … Leiden 1843 (p. 268 ff.) | Rohde, Erwin: Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer, Leipzig 1876 (p. 67 note 1 on Callimachus)]

146 *Brandis Commentationes Eleaticae.* | *Karsten philos. graecae reliquiae* I | *R. Pr. p. 81*
[Brandis, Christian August: … Altona 1813 | Philosophorum graecorum veterum … reliquiae, ed. Simon Karsten, Vol. 1: Xenophanis … reliquiae, Amsterdam / Brussels 1830 | DK 21 A 28]

147 *Rhein. Mus. 31. 23* | *Censor. de d. n. XV 3.* | *Laert. Diog. 9. 19* | *Athen. Poetae Lyr. fr. 3* | *R. Pr. 75 A.* | *Rhetor. Arist. 1400 B. 5.* | *Athen. XI 462*
[Diels (see note 25) p. 23||| DK 21 B 22 cited in Wachsmuth, as in note 19 | DK 21 A 11, B 7, B 22 || DK 21 B 1]

148 *R. Pr. N 82* p. 77. [DK 21 B 11]

of human immorality. And psychologically, he believes that humans created the gods in their own image. Line 5 [DK 21 B 14], as Wilamowitz observed, is in the Margites metre; it belongs to the syllables of Xenophanes. Also belonging to this group, but without the inserted iambic(,) is fr. 6 [DK 21 B 15]. He rejects the popular gods; Xenophanes' God sees, thinks, hears everything, is entirely eye, ear, spirit. See also fr. 1 [DK 21 B 23].[149] The tradition is, admittedly, not reliable. The monotheism expressed therein is very close to the Orphic. He does not deny the other gods; cf. fr. 123 Orphici,[150] the age of which is, admittedly, uncertain. He is pantheistic-henotheistic. It looks up to the whole sky and calls the universe God, the Unity. [151] It is the essence, the world the phenomenon. [152] The universe is described as a sphere, yet also with infinite extension downwards. For αἰθήρ, write ἡσπτ. There is some ambiguity here. Its strength lies precisely in the shattering of what has gone before. The entire system of the world is eternal, but our edifice with the Earth's core is finite.[153] The geocentric standpoint is here again in full force; water aids him in this. (fr. 9 a 10 [DK 21 B 33, 29]). But that is not why these are his primordial principles; this applies only to our world.[154] Xenophanes is said to be Anaximander's pupil. Possible. The idea of the earth as the foundation, and of creatures arising from water, is suggested to him by the discovery of fossils, which he finds in the Latomies, on the island of Melite, etc. It is said that after the downfall of the old generation, the new one arose from the mud.

The sun, moon, rainbow and so on are, to him, fiery clouds. This is a step back step backwards. But by breaking with the gods and so on, by recognising Iris, the rainbow, as a mirage, he applies this to the other bodies. Thus, in those days, every theory was thought through to its conclusion – and that is a blessing. Xenophanes, incidentally, influenced Heraclitus in this regard, and Heraclitus's scepticism even more so.

The Ὑν καὶ πᾶν;[155]has a particular influence on his own school; people are slowly coming to civilisation. He regards his own system with great modesty. Here too, antiquity regards him as a sceptic; Xenophanes leads Timon [of Phleius] into the underworld. But it is really more a matter of rejecting unproven facts. His pantheism is contradictory. For the Orphics, Zeus is everything; he encompasses all the lesser gods. Here Xenophanes maintains that no despot should stand at the head! And yet he knows of gods besides Zeus. Wilamowitz thought it was a poetic cliché; possible, but

149 *R. Pr. N. 85* [DK 21 B 24]

150 *Abel* Orphici

[Abel, Eugen: Orphica, Leipzig 1885, p. 202: Euseb. Praep. Ev. III 9 = Stob. Eclog. Phys. I 1, 23]

151 *Arist. Metaph.* = *R. Pr. 78 N 84.* [DK 21 A 30]

152 R. Pr. N 86 [DK 21 B 29, 33, 28, 32]

153 *R. Pr. 86. a* [DK 21 A 36, A 33]

154 *Arist. 1989 A 5* Metaphysics A. [correctly 989 a 5 = DK 21 A 36 note]

155 R. Pr. N 87 [DK 21 B 34]

at any rate not carried out with precision, since Aristotle calls him a man of unclear mind. The poet and the philosopher are not one and the same. A similar lapse is found in Parmenides too. And yet he was far more prosaic! Xenophanes views the world through the eyes of the poet, but the Yv through the eyes of the thinker. This is also the aim of fr. 14 [DK 21 B 34]. He is entirely polemical; it is Parmenides who first establishes a system.

Where does monotheism come from? Certainly not from Jewish henotheism.[156] Among the Greeks, the drive towards unity is present, [*043*] even in Homer. It merely needed to be developed.[157] Xenophanes forms the bridge to the 6th/5th (century).

Heraclitus of Ephesus.

In contrast to Xenophanes stands Heraclitus, the philosopher of motion.[158] Heraclitus is the son of Blyson. (R. Pr. p. 27 top [DK 22 A 2]).[159] He comes from a distinguished family, but wishes to have nothing to do with the hereditary priesthoods. When democracy gained strength in his homeland(,)
(479) he (R. Pr. 24 a [DK 22 B 29, 129, 49, 1, 9, 97]) sided with the aristocrats. fr.
113 [DK 22 B 49] expresses this strongly; fr. 114 (R. Pr. 22 b [DK 22 B 121])(.) The fragment mentions the 460th year of the ἀὐτὸ, because this Hermodorus enacted laws in Rome. A statue gave rise to the tradition (Plin. 34. 5. 26 [34, 21]) on the Comitium. And as for Heraclitus, there is absolutely nothing to be found. Rather, he is used by Parmenides, fights against Hecataeus etc. (R. Pr. N 24. [DK 22 B 40 and A 1]) In fr. 24 a [DK 22 B 129] the words ταῖτας τὰς συμμραφάς are corrupted. Heraclitus was influenced by Xenophanes, but not by Parmenides. Parmenides, however, certainly knew (R. Pr. 89 c [DK 28 B 6]) Xenophanes and Heraclitus, whose maxim—

156 *Gutschmidt, Minor Writings I, p. 523*
[so unclear, perhaps: Gutschmidt, Alfred von: On Count Baudissin's Studies on Semitic Religious History, in: ibid.: Minor Writings II, Leipzig 1889, 20–35, here p. 23 on: The Old Testament's View of the Gods of Paganism]

157 *Chantepie's History of Religion.*
[Chantepie de la Saussaye, Pierre Daniel: Lehrbuch der Rel., Freiburg [1] 1887–1889, [2] 1897]

158 *Schleiermacher, Heraclitus the Obscure.* Works III. 1.1. | *Bernays,* Heraclitea, Bonn 1848. | Rheinische Museum. | *Heraclitean Letters,* Berlin 1869. | *Lassalle, The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure. 1858.* | *Bywater, *Reliquiae Heracliti Ephesii*.* | *Pfleiderer,* *Die Philosophie des Herakleitos aus der Mysterienidee* (1866). | **Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. I, p. 105. | *Zeller,* *De Hermodoro Ephesio*. [Schleiermacher, Fr. D. E.: … (1807), in: Collected Works III/2 (1846), 1–146 | Bernays, Jacob: Heraclitea … | Bernays, Jacob: Heraclitean Studies, in: Rhein. Mus. 7 (1850), 90–116 | Bernays, Jacob: The Heraclitean Letters … | Lassalle, Ferdinand: … Berlin 1858 | Bywater, Ingram: … Oxford 1877 | Pfleiderer, Edmund: The Philosophy of Heraclitus of Ephesus in the Light of the Idea of the Mysteries, Berlin 1886 | Diels: Report on the Literature of the Presocratics 1886. First half, in: Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos. 1 (1887) 95–110 (105 on Heraclitus literature) | Zeller, Eduard: … Marburg 1859]

159 *Rhein. Mus. 7. 115 Bernays.* [see note 158 (note on p. 115 regarding the reference to Parmenides)]

The word valíntronoc is cited. That is, Heraclitus VI/V (century), not the mid-5th century. Zeller sought to derive a date from Hermodorus's work, which is thought to have been written as late as 478, after the Persian Wars. But we know far too little about the Ephesians, who were dependent on the priests of the Temple of Ephesus; the Temple of Ephesus was spared by the Persians, and the circumstances here were exceptional. And (Herod. VIII 103) Xerxes had his children brought to Ephesus, so there was certainly no uprising here. However, a democratic coup was certainly possible much earlier, e.g. around 500. Ephesian democrats had marched independently against Sardis, and were thus in charge at that time. Epicharmus had already known Heraclitus, (died) c. 464, he wrote poetry c. 480; he is the comic poet of the refined Syracusans, who must therefore have known Heraclitus at that time to understand the allusions. [160] Then Heraclitus's book was written c. 500–490. [*044*]

He writes in prose. Without a title; this only begins with the plays, which had to be registered with the archon. The title μοῖσαι comes from Plato.[161] The division of the book is much later.

Great effort has been made to establish the order of the fragments.[162] But he is a restless mind, an aphorist, who does not stick to the point. This way of working, this often repetitive form, is linked to his obscurity (σκοτεινός).[163] His name was well known in the 3rd century.[164] Aristotle believes it is so difficult to interpret him. Even Socrates understands him only partially. In this obscurity, people have seen a fear of the priests – yet in matters of politics and religion, he speaks very clearly indeed. Others have him wrestling with language, such as Hamann and Meister Eckhardt. But why, then, did his other contemporaries not speak in the same way? It is imitated in the text περὶ τροφῆς and περὶ φυσίος in the Corpus Hippocraticum.[165] Theophrastus (R. Pr. N 24 [DK 22 A 1 p. 141, 4 ff.]) judges quite correctly when he sees his peculiarity in this. Like Nietzsche, he is a pessimist. The Übermensch is more than 10,000. Heraclitus regards the people around him as fools. One should not speak crudely, like the common crowd,[166] he would rather do as the god at Delphi does. And so too the Sibyl, in whom the god lives. He scorns the applause of his contemporaries.[167]

160 *Rhein. Mus. 8. Bernays.*
[Epicharmos and the Αἰνόμενος Λόγος, Rhein. Mus. 8 (1853) 280–88.]

161 *Plato, Sophist 242 D.*

162 *Diog. IX. 5. R. Pr.* N 23. [DK 22 A 1 p. 140, 27 ff.]

163 *R. Pr. 25ª* [DK 22 A 4]

164 *Liv. 23. 38* [23, 39, 3]

165 Bernays, | *Patin* 1880 Source studies on Heraclitus. | *Fleck. Jahrb. 1882.* 169
[see note 158 | Patin, Alois: …., Würzburg 1880 | Weygoldt, Georg Peter: The pseudo-Hippocratic treatise περὶ φύσιος, in: Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik 125 (1882) 161–175 (on Heraclitus' concept of matter)]

166 *R. Pr.* 24ª . 23ª [DK 22 B 29, 129, 49, 1, 9, 97; passages containing σκοτεινός]

167 *Heracl. fr. 2* [DK 22 B 1]

For Heraclitus, Λότσος is ‘world reason’, in contrast to Xenophanes’s ‘everlasting being’: νάβα ψί.[168] You cannot step into the same river twice. Goethe’s ‘permanence in change’ draws on this, cf. also ‘the One and the All’. Cratylus goes even further: one cannot even step into *the* river; day and night are the same, [169] beginning and end, summer and winter, etc. (.) Everything is everything, everything at the same time its opposite. Fr. 66 uses a play on words. [170] War is the father of all things. The world is like a potion (fr. 84 [DK 22 B 125]); if it is not stirred, it falls apart.[171] Here, Heraclitus drew upon Anaximander; in Heraclitus, only the mediating unity is emphasised as the law of the world, in place of the avstpov the [*045*] primordial force. Yet even the λότσος he can conceive of only (R. Pr. 29, 28 [DK 22 B 30]) in material terms, as fire. It regulates the day by igniting and extinguishing itself. Even the great cycles are determined by fire; the burning of the world destroys the old and brings forth the new world.[172] Fire is also called lightning, steering like a helmsman. †uzή is also fire. But there is nothing transcendental here. Even Anaxagoras’ νοῖc is merely λstνότατον τής ὅλ0c. Fire is not the idea of becoming; it is plastic, modifying the periods; the λόцος becomes flesh within it and its states of aggregation (άμοτβή).[173] And it lives from the death of the earth (wood), just as air lives from the death of fire, etc.[174] This principle governs the whole of chemistry; one seeks to make gold from worthless matter.[175] But the eternal fire? Everything is in flux, everything is and is not; only the opposites create the phenomenon as a point of passage, like a pendulum between two poles. From high and low comes harmony. He compares this to the tension on two sides, e.g. in a bow:[176] ναλίν-τονος counter-tension. Here it is νάλτν ‘against’ cf. ναλτνL%ία, ναλίνцλωσ-σος Pindar Nem. I [58]. The doctrine of Aristotle Met. 1005 B 20 is attacked. But not entirely justifiably. Each is only everything in a limited sense. And he has not declared the opposites to be null and void in the abstract, as Hegel wished.

The ὰρμονί0 άφανής is the divine law, (fr. 29 [DK 22 B 94]) Δίυ0 and 'Ερίνυsc play a part in this! He cannot quite break free. The pendulum can only swing in a certain way. If the sun were to venture beyond the boundaries, the Erinyes would rebuke it. The power acts immanently in the world as λόцος, Ζsίc, τὸ σοφόν.[177] Yet Zeus is not merely spirit,

168 *R. Pr. 27. N 26* [DK 22 A 6]
169 R. Pr. 332 fr. 35 [DK 22 B 57]
170 R. Prell. 39 and [DK B 48]
171 *R. Pr. 27.* [DK 22 B 8]
172 R. Pr. 28. b. fr. 20 [DK 22 B 30]
173 *R. Pr. N 29* [DK 22 A 5 p. 145, 14]
174 *R. Pr.* 31. N 30 a [DK 22 B 76]
175 *Berthelot:* Revue des deux mondes 1893.
[Berthelot, Marcellin: Chemistry in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, in: Revue des deux mondes 119 (1893) 315–336]
176 *R. Pr. 28. 27* [DK 22 B 51]
177 *R. Pr. N 32* [DK 22 B 32, 41, 50]

also matter from which opposites develop. Here, the notion that force and matter are two distinct things is forcefully refuted. Thus Heraclitus is the first pantheist; consequently, the Stoics follow entirely in his footsteps in physical terms. The Αἰῶν is a [046] playful child who rules, sustains and destroys the world.[178] The individual phenomenon is insignificant; here lies the first seed of Spinoza. Herein lies Heraclitus's philosophical significance.

Fire becomes sea, half earth, half fiery breath (νρ0στήρ).[179] Here he draws on older, rather mechanical ideas. If the movement was earth … fire, then ὸ%ὸc avω; conversely, ὸ%ὸc uάτω. This applies not only to the origin, but also to its enduring state.[180] The breath of fire in the Microcosm †uzή, thus understandable in fr. 68 (R. Pr. 30 B [DK 22 B 36]).[181] Wherever one begins the cycle, the same applies. This eternal circular motion, taking place at every moment, is constantly being completed.[182] Water is constantly transforming into fire and earth; this is also the case in the microcosm. What is solid is not the substance, but the proportion(,) e.g. 1% water : 99% earth is necessary for bones; the λόμος must be identical. This has an effect on physicians, e.g. Galen.

Pythagoras had separated the world of the unchanging planets from the άτα(ία of the sublunar world. But Heraclitus finds the λότοcoc even above the moon; thus, like Xenophanes, he regards the sun as a fiery ball of vapour that is reborn every day (fr. 32 [DK 22 B 6])(.) The concept of the sun-boat,[183] which, when overturned, causes eclipses, is found in the Heraclitus legend, where 'Ηλτοc sails away in the dark boat or cup', as in Stesichorus and Mimnermos. It is a poetic conception.[184] His 0υνίρως is also dependent on earlier ones. R. Pr. fr. 30 a end [DK 22 B 65] cf. Clement, who speaks of the world-fire: first the Flood, then evaporation under the influence of fire, then the cycle begins anew.[185] The proportions may change over time; the sum of gradual change brings about the end. νῖρ θάλασσα μή now becomes μή θάλασσα νῖρ. cf. De Caelo I. 10 Arist. 279 B 5. 205 A 2. Everything becomes νῖρ; the Stoics understood it thus too. And so did the whole of antiquity. [047]

But how can the pendulum ever come to a standstill? Where is the unity of the 0vαντίαt, where is the νόλσμοc?[186] This intolerable contradiction led Schleiermacher to interpret the world conflagration as a misunderstanding. Ritter, however, seeks to prove the 0υνίρωστc to be genuine; the more level-headed scholars, such as Zeller, follow him,

178 R. *Pr. 33. Line 1* [DK 22 B 52]
179 *R. Pr. 29 N 28 b* [DK 22 B 31]
180 *Plato, Philebus 43 A*
181 *Arist. 405. A 2 of the Soul*, R. Pr. 30 B. [DK 22 A 15]
182 *R. Pr. 30. d* [DK 22 B 60]
183 *R. Pr. 29, N 29* [DK 22 A 1 (7–9)]
184 Mon. Ceramogr. Lenormant. De Witte I, 114.
[Élite de Monuments Ceramographiques rassemblées … par Charles Lenormant et J. J. A. M. de Witte, IV / IV Paris 1844–1861]
185 *R. Pr. 31* [DK 22 B 37]
186 *Sophistes 242 C*

Schleiermacher has new material to consider. There is an inconsistency in this if only one of the three stages remains. But the explanation lies in the fact that this world conflagration is very ancient (cf. Phaeton in Hesiod) and his predecessors had all posited a world conflagration: it begins with water and ends with fire in Anaximander, similarly the Pythagoreans; in Xenophanes a deluge; both combined in Heraclitus. Thus even he, the utterly isolated one, stands only on the shoulders of his predecessors. This is in line with Hegel's method. With such a thinker, one cannot claim absolute consistency; even Plato was not consistent. And the 'great year' = 18,000 years fits this perfectly. But Heraclitus could say: the opposites coexist simultaneously, yet the λό-ιος is also changeable in great periods, already in the seasons, then in centuries, in 'great years' further changes, and that world-fire but a moment, merely a change in the λό-ιος, a mere nothing for the playing Aion. Fire is followed by water; harmony remains sub specie aeternae.

His psychology presents man as a transformation of fire. The body
soulless, rigid and lifeless, worth less than dung. He challenges the custom of honouring the corpse. And this was a generation before Sophocles' Antigone! Essentially, it is merely a consequence of σωμα – σήμα. The finer the soul, the more difficult it is to grasp.[187] Yet it is thoroughly material; it consists of warm, dry vapours, the finest fiery substance (Doxogr. 213 [recte 214]), the finest celestial ether therefore
= †υχή. [*048*] The soul must be dry; it is a sad sight to behold a wet, drunken soul.[188] Here, in his doctrine of the soul—which encompasses the breath—Heraclitus had given the example of the river.[189] The eye, too·is filled with fire; when the eyes close, reason narrows, for there is a lack of the supply of fire.[190] Yet even in sleep we are participants in world history.[191] Contrary to this is the doctrine, influenced by mysticism, of life after death. It posits that souls enter various bodies to undergo the ц?νσστc.[192] 'And for him who is there, they shall rise up, etc.' This refers to God, before whom the souls, there that is, in Hades, rise up to become the guardians of the living, in Hesiod's manner. Нрца 253. 0цsртí, that is, showing themselves to the waking not only in dreams but also as real beings. When the demons rise above mankind, then demons, such is the eternal cycle. [193] Heraclitus·too, promises a blissful end; man becomes part of the great world soul. [194] Life and death are the same. He rails against the worship of images, for people do not know demons and heroes. [195]

187 *R. Pr. 34 d.* [DK 22 A 15, B 45]
188 p. 73. [DK 22 A 117]
189 *Doxogr. 209* [cf. Dox. 471, 4 ff.]
190 p. 95. [DK 22 B 89]
191 fr. 90. [DK 22 B 75]
192 *72 francs. p. 37* RPr d. [DK 22 B 77]
193 *R. Pr. 38 fr. 67* [DK 22 B 62]
194 fr. 122 [DK 22 B 27]
195 *R. Pr. p. 39.* c [DK 22 B 15, 5, 106]

Xenophanes questioned sensory perception. Heraclitus could find truth only in thought, not in sensory perception. The λόμος common to all is the standard, that which remains true.[196] But not everything can be known by men.[197] Objective knowledge is given only by the divine fire.[198] Divinity is the adornment of man, but the
[*049*] most beautiful human being is nothing compared to God.[199] And so polymathy is of no use; one must question oneself. One should look at the world with an open mind, and learn from one's elders too, but one must arrive at the eternal law through the particular.[200] He is not, like Socrates, the philosopher of induction. He builds his system upon brilliant intuition, rich in imagination, from which he constructs and discerns the particulars. He shares with Anaximander the hylozoistic forces [Ms. force], existence as a debt; he was the first to interpret Anaximander's ai%toc uív0στc as eternal harmony. Like Pythagoras, he combined aristocratic politics with philosophy; he takes the opposites from him, but remodels them; the immortality of the soul is a postulate of philosophy in his thought. He is close to the pantheist Xenophanes, but Heraclitus unites appearance with reality; the macrocosm comes into being and passes away, that is, it breathes in and out. Xenophanes, too, had been sceptical, but in Heraclitus this scepticism becomes the norm, the image of the division of the world. The λότsoc is also law and truth. Everything is unified and methodical in his thought. Parmenides himself knew this (R. Pr. p. 89 l. 1 [DK 28 B 6 p. 233, 2 ff.]). His oracular tone and form are highly effective, but his school is unworthy of him, according to the mad Kratylos.[201] The school plays with the master's principles. We find a continuation of the system only in the Stoa, which owes its pantheism to him, above all [*050*] Cleanthes, then the Sceptics such as Ainesidem in Cicero's time. The Gnostics, too, draw upon him.

Alkmaion

Unna, *J. Sander*, *Phil. hist. Stud. v. Petersen. Alkmaeon of Croton*, Wittenberg 1893. *Gomperz*, *Greek Thinkers*. [Unna, Moritz A., *De Alcmaeone Crotoniata*, in: Phi-Linguistic and Historical Studies, ed. by Christian Petersen, Hamburg 1832, pp. 41–87 | Sander, Julius: … (Prog.) | Gomperz, Theodor: see page 10]

Arist. Metaph. places him among the elderly Pythagoreans, i.e. in his youth. But the passage is missing from the best manuscript. The note, however, is certainly old and probably correct. Aristotle does not count him among the Pythagoreans, Hstptθóov

196 *R. Pr. 34; 35* [DK reference unclear]
197 *fr. 18* [DK 22 B 108]
198 *R. Pr. 37* [DK reference unclear]
199 *Kritias Major 289 B ?* [Plato, Hippias Major 289 a, b = DK 22 B 82, 83]
200 *R. Pr. 38 N 40* | *R. Pr. 35 fr. 36 b* [DK 22 B 101, 14, 44; 87, 28, 22]
201 Arist. Metaph. 1010 A. 10 [cf. DK 22 B 91]

ìtóc. The dialect is difficult to determine. Ionic? He would have written to friends in Pythagorean circles, a practice that only became more common in the 3rd century. In the scepticism of his opening, he is reminiscent of Heraclitus and Xenophanes; he is the first epistemological philosopher, examining knowledge first and foremost. He is very modest, observing first from a psychological perspective, seeking to understand the pathways of perception. He takes up the scalpel as a physician. Croton was famous for medicine. Diogenes Laertius 8.83, citing Favorinus, reports that he wrote the first φυστικός (i.e. physiological) treatise, or is he merely the first physician to write? Alcmaeon lays bare the optic nerves, calling them the conduits, νόpot, because they are hollow. The brain appears as the central organ. [202] He first examines the individual organs. The ear functions through the air; the tongue is soft and absorbs the humours; the eye is fire, the stars likely filled with it, surrounded by water. The matter is not clear to us. He distinguishes the rational human from the sentient animals; Aristotle adopts this. The distinction in Plato's Phaedo, as presented by Alcmaeon. [*051*] The soul (Arist. De Anima 505. [recte 405 a 30]) is always in motion, and thus immortal. He constantly draws on the analogy. From the movement of the stars and because the fire of the stars and the fire of the soul are one, he constructs his theory of the soul inductively. Here too, traces of Heraclitus are evident. The soul νîp, the stars †uzaí. Unfortunately, a closer connection with Heraclitus cannot be demonstrated.

The fixed stars move, apart from the fixed starry sky! In that respect, he is almost the only one. The sun is flat; the lunar eclipse, too, is for him a tilting of the moon. The human body is perishable. He distinguishes between man and God in the Pythagorean manner of the perfect and the imperfect. [203] This plays a major role for him; he calls the opposites 0vanttót0tsc.[204] Here, the Pythagorean theory may be present, or it may be derived from him. For Alcmaeon, the opposites are not limited; in medicine, he explained ailments as arising from a disproportion of the opposites. Perhaps this theory is also connected with Heraclitus. Epistemologically, too, he is a dualist: 0ntstήμ0 – %ó(a.

He also first explores embryology in the context of the fourth and fifth
The 'placita' ultimately trace back to him. There may also be Pythagorean elements in him.

Parmenides

Brandis, Commentationes eleaticae. *Karsten*, Philos. graec. reliquiae I. *Stein* for Ritschl: Symbola philologorum bonnensium. *Tannery*, l. c. 218. [Brandis, see note 146 | Karsten see note 146 | Stein, Heinrich: The Fragments of Parmenides, in: Symbola phil. Bonn. in honorem Friderici Ritschelii collecta, vol. 2, Leipzig 1867, pp. 763–806 | Tannery see note 19]

202 *Doxogr*. 507. 4
203 *Arist. 916. A. 30* [recte 986 A 30]
204 *Tannery*, *L'histoire*, p. 304 [see note 89]

Parmenides [205]is the son of Pyres of Elea; he joined the Pythagoreans; Speusippus mentions his legislative activities, which is quite possible. In his philosophy, he follows Xenophanes. Metaph. A. 5 mentions him (like Theophrastus) in connection with Xenophanes [*052*] Ol. 69 = 504–500 = Heraclitus, which proves nothing. Plato in the Parmenides mentions him alongside Zeno and the youthful Socrates [sic]. Parmenides was thus born around 513. But Plato was no historian; he takes artistic licence. Parmenides need not even have been in Athens. The whole fiction, however, does not stray so far that one could take offence at it. All other approaches are entirely unworkable.

There is no lack of internal evidence. He argues against Heraclitus. The philosophers who regard everything as the same, and everything as different, Being = Non-being and also not,[206] can only be the Heracliteans; 'the path is turned in the opposite direction' is Heraclitus's expression. It is the ὸ%ὸc avω – uάτω, not the opinion of the uneducated masses. And 'opposite' was also ναλίντρο-νος in Heraclitus [DK 22 B 51]. But was Heraclitus's teaching already widespread in southern Italy at that time? Well, Ionia's trade with the West explains this sufficiently. Epicharmus' comedies prove it for Sicily. Thus after Heraclitus, but before Zeno, Melissus, Empedocles, Leucippus. Melissus can be dated to 442, the war between Samos and Athens. The others are likely older than him. This would place Leucippus around 470, i.e. between 490–470, 480 c. the era of Parmenides. He would thus have been born around 523.

His poem consists of 160 verses. His verses are rather poor, despite Bergk [Bergk, Theodor: History of Greek Literature, Vol. 2, Berlin 1883, p. 494 ff.].[207] The ancients also criticise him; even Proclus calls him more a prose writer than a poet! Even Aratus' *Phaenomena*, or better yet Nicander, not to mention Lucretius. But the content is great. If the transitory equals the eternal, there can only be one true being; all else is illusion, hence his poem is divided into 'Αλήθsta' and '%ό'(a. But in order to grant himself the knowledge of truth as well, he writes a magnificent prologue, in which [*053*] truth is presented to him as the goddess Άληθστα and %ό(a. Sextus adver. math.[208] The conclusion is ambiguous: 'the same can be thought and be' Zeller[5] . But then to change νοsîν into νοsîσθat,[209] and this statement is also undisputed; rather, thinking and being are correlative concepts cf. R. Pr. N 97 [DK 28 B 8, v. 34–41]. There is no such thing as abstract thought.[210] The content of the άλάθsta is an ontology, as is also the case with Feuerbach against Hegel, who took non-being as his starting point. *M. Müller*: thought in the light of language

205 *Diels'* Philosophical Essays Dedicated to Zeller.
[On the Earliest Greek Philosophical Schools, in: Philosophical Essays Dedicated to Eduard Zeller, Leipzig 1887, 239–260]
206 *R. Pr. N 94. B.* [DK 28 B 6]
207 *Plut. de auct. poet.* 16. [DK 28 A 15]
208 *R. Pr.* 94 D and 93 [DK 28 A 1, 7 and 8 v. 3–7]
209 *R. Pr.* 94 A. [DK 28 A 2, 3]
210 *Dilthey*, History of the Humanities
[Dilthey, Wilhelm: Introduction to the Humanities, Berlin 1883]

[Müller, Friedrich Max: … Leipzig 1888] is entirely in the tradition of Parmenides. It is unclear, but there are some good points.

Τὸ 0όν is the truth[211] with the following σήματα – a beginning of logic!
1) άц?ν0τον uaὶ άνώλsθρον. Here, as with Heraclitus, the Δίu0 does not tolerate anything happening against it, namely that the ц?νsστc is assumed(;) 2) ουλον (whole) and μονομsνής (uniform)(.) The proof for ουλον R. Pr. 96 [DK 28 B 8 v. 22–33] Gomperz wanted to set οί%\ ... μάλλον and οΰ%s ... zstpότspον. But whilst both fit the latter, neither fits μάλλον nor νᾶν ... 0όντος. Conjectures are of no help either.
Then (3)) ά(τ)psμ?c proof in v. 82 (R. Pr. 96 [DK 28 B 8 v. 26]).
(4)) ή%' άτ?λστον that is difficult, for Parmenides' Being is finite. Thus one has written οί%' with Brandis. For Being (R. Pr. v. 93 p. 92 [DK 28 B 4 v. 4]) must have a limit as something perfect. ναντὸς 0%sῖτο seems a bit much, but it is a figure of speech, 'perfect' suffering from lack. The Pythagorean theory. The limitation is not merely dialectical-Pythagorean; it is a physical (R. Pr. N 98 [DK 28 B 8 v. 42–49]) conception, the universe being a sphere.

To summarise, Being is an eternal, unchanging unity, in equilibrium in all directions, bounded like a sphere. There is no *'ápzē'*, nor is a God necessary in this system. He has completely re-founded the doctrine of unity. He is entirely detached from the real world; he is transcendent. He is on the path towards Plato, towards the philosophy of ideas, towards Kant. [*054*]

Parmenides knows of no non-spatial being; his being is, in any case, spatially bounded and extended. The other Eleatics, too, understand him in this way. The Pythagoreans come close to a metaphysics that nevertheless remains sensory. Heraclitus is no different. Aristotle, too, interpreted this correctly.[212] The Greeks, with their artistic inclinations, conceive of everything in physical terms; they even conceive of arithmetic geometrically. This must have been true of Parmenides as well. Xenophanes, Heraclitus and Alcmaeon had emphasised the deceptions of the senses, and so did Parmenides: reason must decide. In the beginning, λόцος and %ό(a are one, but then one must separate them. In the **ó>a*, he then sets to work by uniting the points of agreement among earlier philosophers and presenting this as %ό(a.[213] Thus the 'relatively acceptable system' appears as the sum of the earlier theories founded on perception.

There are two forces: fire and night. As the true element, light follows the Prooemium. Therefore, νῖp is also intrinsically identical to ὅν. Zeller has rejected Aristotle's (') assertion that opposites arise from fire, for (R. Pr. v. 135 = 128 [DK 28 B 12 v. 3]) why then the %aί-μων? But these mythological phrases are not so important for Parmenides, who takes νί(as the female, φώc as the male element (v. 136 [DK 28 B 12 v. 4]), from whose union, rather obscurely, things arise. Nor is the cosmogonic Eros absent. This has its place quite well in the **ó>a*

211 R. Pr. N 95. [DK 28 B 8]
212 *Aristot. 1010 A 1.* [DK 28 A 24]
213 *Diels' Essays for Zeller.* | R. Pr. 99 [see note 205 | DK reference unclear]

Passage. (v. 139 = 132 [DK 28 B 13]) The elements are borrowed from Pythagoras' system and from earlier systems. In the rest of the text, he draws mostly on Pythagoras, though the material is very fragmentary. Everything here arises from the mixture of the elements. In particular, fr. 101 B [DK 28 B 10], wrongly declared by Stein to be spurious without justification. [214] The Milky Way [215] plays a role among the Pythagoreans as the outermost circle, i.e. uωνoc, where the souls [*055*] dwell after death. oűpavoc here, however, is the uόσμoc. We have a detailed account from Theophrastus in Aetius:[216] the entire universe composed of στsφάνat – similar to Anaximander's wheels. The outermost one like a solid wall, against which a band of fire is firmly set. These must be σφαîpat spheres – the whole thing is unclear. Or perhaps one ought not to combine %ó(a with άλάθsta at all? Then it is simply to be understood as στsφάνat. Outermost, that firmament with the fixed stars; at the centre, a solid sphere—that must be the Earth, conceived according to Anaximander's ideas,[217] with rings in between; he first identifies Hesperus and Phosphorus. Controvers R. Pr. 101 a [DK 28 B 12].[218] 0ν μ?σL, i.e. νάντων according to Simplikios. But Abel is right to follow the doxographers and relate it to στsφάνat. The %aίμων (roughly the planet 'Αφρo%ίτ0), mother of Eros? Creatures arose from the mud, men born in the north, women in the south, for women have softer, warmer flesh. For another R. Pr. 99. a (?) [DK 28 A 51, 54, B 18](.)

Man perceives things in the same way that warmth and cold are mingled within him. R. Pr. 102. b. [DK 28 A 46] Theophrastus, in his treatise on the senses, shows that the senses are both perception and understanding. Where warmth has entirely departed, as in death, one feels only the cold, the stillness, and the darkness. The soul (Doxogr. 213) is fire and earth, but the fiery part (Doxogr. 388) alone is the higher-sensing part. Here, Alcaeus's influence is clearly evident. Metempsychosis cannot be proven. The end of the world is not entirely absent (R. Pr. 99. D v. 157 [DK 28 B 19]), but we have little on the subject; the surviving words seem to form the conclusion of the %ó(a.

If we survey the %ó(a, Zeller's view is the most accurate. Also in the
According to Gomperz, as he still maintains today, Parmenides should have been right about the second part. But Parmenides describes the %ó(a as uόσμov άνατήλον, as lies and deceit, as things that have happened (uατà %ó(av), and he posits a principle regarding whose existence people are mistaken: light exists, but darkness
[*056*] does not. People have given the name 'aίσθ0τά' to it; the multiplicity of nomenclature is the root of the error.[219] It is Aristotle who first breaks away from

214 *R. Pr. 101 B* [DK 28 B 10]
215 *R. Pr. 101 C* [DK 28 B 11]
216 *Doxogr. 336.* b. 2 [recte 335 b 2 s.]
217 *Doxogr. 482. 17*
218 *Krische Forschungen 105* | *Tannery l. c. 129* | *Plut. Amat. 156*
[Krische, see note 44 | Tannery, see note 89 | DK 28 B 13]
219 Parm. V. 101 [DK 28 B 8 v. 38–41]

the name! The Sophists' distinction between νόμL and φίσst has its roots here with the Eleatics.

But why does the goddess also grant %ό(a? Because only when error is clearly recognised is truth also recognised. Parmenides draws his facts from all sides and provides an overview of what has gone before.

But on the whole, despite the eclecticism, there is a system. A being to which no activity is ascribed cannot always be used as a doctrine. For it contradicts the principle of causality. The %ό(a is written with reference to the whole. Thus it takes the best of the past, replaces the weak with the relatively better; in the struggle of dialectics it works its way upwards, yet it remains delusion, as Xenophanes already observed. Gradually one seeks to sublimate the error more and more; Plato did exactly the same: he takes the worst definition and breaks it down; from error truth develops, that is, historically.

There is a pedagogical aspect to the system, as in Plato, so in Parmenides. This dialectical aspect is developed by the students. In the Diadochia, a number of Parmenides' views become much clearer.

[Zeno]

Almost on a par with the master Zeno of Elea.[220] cf. Tannery p. 247 [see note 89]. Teleutagoras' son is said to be 25 years younger than Parmenides according to Plato, 40 years younger according to the chronologists = Olympiad 79. He was certainly born at the beginning of the 5th century.[221] The vat%tuá were later made into an adopted son when the erotic relationship was taken offence at. Apparently the relationship was intimate. (Strabo p. 282 [DK 28 A 12]) They lived together in the Pythagorean manner. Plato has both come to Athens, the poetry. Alcibiades I. 119 A [= DK 29 A 4] claims they paid dearly for their lessons, and that the connection with Pericles is a fabrication. Diogenes 9. 28 says he never left Elea. His tyrannicide is famous. But any more precise account is unclear. Where tyrants come into play, so too does the imagination come into play among the Greeks. Politics always interferes. There must be great murderers for evil tyrants.[222]

Zeno's writings are divided into λόμοt, but not into actual dialogues.[223] Hpt%sc, polemical writings = vρὸc τοὶc φtλοσόφουc vsρὶ φίσsωc. Then 0(ήμ0στc των 'Εμvs%ουλ?ουc. Is this a commentary? Stobaeus, under Melissos and Zeno (300 B. 19 [DK 31 A 32]), has a passage that is corrupted. Elter has shown that here

220 *Schneider: Philol. 35. 1874.* Zeno of Elea.
[Schneider, Ferdinand: Zenon of Elea, in: Philologus 35 (1874) 602–642]

221 Athen. 11. 511. F [recte 11, 505 F = DK 29 A 11]

222 *Arist. 1303 Rhetoric*

223 *Diog. III 48* [Definition of dialogue]

It was not Zeno but Empedocles.[224] Zeller regarded the title as a forgery. Ancient forgers, however, follow their own specific methods; Zeno does not fit into this pattern, nor does he fit the text. By 0(ήμ0στc one understands a polemical discussion against someone, e.g. νρὸc τὸν Δ0μόυρττον by Heraclides Ponticus, also 'Ηραυλsίτου 0(0μήσστc' by him. The work 'Aristoteles de Zenone etc.' gives us an idea. The title, of course, did not appear until the 4th century. It is likely to be part of the Hpt%sc (e.g. [probably Ar. Met. B, 1001 b 7]).[225]

Zeno seeks to prove Parmenides' principle indirectly. He has reduced the earlier philosophers to absurd conclusions, as Xenophanes did in the 'Syllogisms'; *Diog.* 9. 29 also refers to physical propositions, not just negative ones. But all these propositions will have merely formed the subject matter or arguments. Zeno exposes the antinomies by reducing the former to absurdity.[226] That is why he is called άμφο-τsρόμλωσσος (Timon of Phlius); Isocrates [*058*] also believes he shows everything to be both possible and impossible at the same time. Such a method marked the beginning of dialectics.[227] A good deal of Plato is to be found in him; eristic is highly developed, but he does not employ it as an end in itself, as the Sophists did, but rather to save Parmenides' doctrine of unity. The proofs we have from him number eight. Four of these are against plurality, four against motion.

A. If being is many things [228] a) infinitely large, β) infinitely small. for a RPr 105. C. [DK 29 A 1] for β 105 A [DK 29 A 2].
The dichotomy results in a progressio in perpetuum.[229] There is an infinite and a non-infinite series; multiplicity is antinomic. Space does not exist.[230] Every grain must produce a sound if 1000 of them produce one.[231] The observation is sound.

These four proofs against multiplicity present it as absurd. Only unity is free from antinomies; it is real.
But did Zeno not also have to challenge Parmenides' 'being', which was, after all, finite? Perhaps he denied the reality of space in favour of 'being'. Indeed, Melissus conceived of 'being' as boundless.

B. Arguments against motion.
a) Every body must travel infinite distances, which is impossible in finite time [232].
β) Achilles and the tortoise will never catch up with each other, for space is infinitely divisible [233].

224 *Elter Bonn 1880.* 12 de Stobaei codice. [Elter, Anton: De Joannis Stobaei codice Photiano]
225 *Parmenides 126. B* [Plato]
226 Phaedrus 261. D
227 *Arist. in Diog. 8. 57* [Q. 65 Rose]
228 R. Pr. p. 102. [DK 29 B 2]
229 *R. Pr. 105. B.* [DK 29 B 3]
230 *R. Pr. 106.* [DK 29 A 24]
231 *R. Pr. 104* [DK 29 A 29]
232 R. Pr. 103. *107 a.* [DK 29 A 25]
233 *R. Pr. 107 b.* [DK 29 A 26]

c) the flying arrow is at rest.[234]
%) A: 4 balls side by side. B: A second row of balls moving to the right, C: a third row moving to the left; thus C will pass B twice as quickly as it passes A. [DK 29 A 28]
Windelband had these proofs directed against Leucippus. He is said to have been a renegade disciple of Parmenides. That is possible, but one must not go too far. [*059*]

Apart from the fourth proof, the others all strike at the heart of the matter. Strangely enough, Plato did not concern himself with them at all, whereas Aristotle certainly did.
He refutes Proof I: there is potential and actual division; division ad infinitum is simply not possible. Here, philosophy had to transcend language: divisible – divided.

But motion, he argues, is continuous. Nor should one measure with different units, as in II %.[235]

Aristotle's refutation is based on the distinction between potential and actual; Zeno could reply that this, precisely, was the difficulty. The concept of motion remains a problem even today: Bayle (1647–1706) discussed it at length in his *Dictionnaire* [s.v. Zeno]. *Lohse*, *De argumentis quibus Zeno etc* (Kantian). *Gerling*, Marburg 1825. *Hegel* takes the contradiction seriously and acknowledges it. Its – non-being. In the *introduction*, *Herbart* sought to resolve the difficulty by means of the rigid line. In his Logical Essays 5, *Trendelenburg* treats motion as an axiom; in that case, no explanation is required.

[Lohse, Carl Heinrich Erdmann: Dissertation on the arguments by which Zeno of Elea demonstrated that there is no motion ... Halle 1794 | Gerling, Christian Ludwig: On the paralogisms of Zeno of Elea concerning motion (Dissertation) | Hegel, G. W. F.: Lectures on the History of Philosophy 1,1,1 C 4 (Works ed. Moldenhauer/Michel 18, 304) | Herbart, Joh. Fr.: Textbook on the Introduction to Philosophy, Königsberg [4] 1837, pp. 200–202 | Trendelenburg, Friedrich Adolf: Logical Investigations, Leipzig [3] 1870, 141–155] Zeno's proofs remain unrefuted to this day. But by employing motion themselves (dichotomy), they prove it for themselves(.) Überweg simply denied the contradiction (cf. in Gomperz [see note 10].)[236]

Zeno also challenged his own school, as Melissus proves

Melissus

Brandis's Commentary on the Eleatic Odes [see note 146, vol. 3, p. 186]. *Fr. Kern*, Melissus of Samos
[Kern, Franz: In Honour of M. of S., Festschrift for the 35th Congress of German Philologists and Schoolmasters, Stettin 1880] attempts to rescue him, but he overshoots the mark.[237]

234 R. *Pr. 107 c.* [DK 29 A 27]
235 *Gomperz, Denker*. I [see note 44]
236 *Wellmann* Zeno. Frankfurt. 1870.
[Wellmann, Eduard: The Philosophy of the Stoic Zeno (Diss. Rostock), Leipzig 1873]
237 *Pabst* de Melissi fragmentis Bonn 1889. [Pabst, Arnold: De M. Samii Fr. (Diss.), Bonn 1889]

Melissus' father was called Ithagenes; he himself was nauarch of Samos (Thuc. I 117 [cf. DK 30 A 3]); hence, according to Apollodorus, the 84th Olympiad, 444/40, is dated to 442 following the victory. Perhaps a pupil of Parmenides; his untitled work has been preserved. Melissus sought to make the extreme idealism of Zeno and Parmenides plausible to his countrymen. He seeks [*060*] to build upon what already exists. *A Eternity* of Being. (fr. 6 R. Pr. 107 a) fr. 7 (108 N 111 note line 14 [DK 30 B 1, 2])

B. The infinity of being. R. Pr. N 111 (p. 107) [DK 30 B 2 Paraphr.]. Here, spatial infinity is substituted for temporal infinity, arising from the ambiguity of the word avstpov. This is a logical, excusable error. Aristotle criticises Melissus for illogicality. And we know, quite rightly, that he is right. cf. fr. 8 [DK 30 B 3], where the μστάβαστc síc αλλο ц?νοc is quite clear.

C. *Unity* of Being (N 112 p. 108) fr. 10 [DK 30 B 5]. cf. N 115 fr. 17 [DK 30 B 8]. If the many were equally valid as the One, they would have to endure; the ring wears away on the finger, everything changes, and yet this must be an illusion, for if it were true, then the many would have to be eternal, just like the One.

fr. 15 N 112 note [DK 30 B 10] cf. fr. 11. RP 109 fr. 11 [DK 30 B 7 (1–2)] Here Summary. The concept of the Xenophanic deity comes to the fore here; it fully encompasses perceptions; the One is painless. From the οὔτς άντ¾тat οὔτς άλцsî, the state of his bliss is clear, similar to that of Anaxagoras; very soon the questions of eudaimonia would be raised; here Melissus draws closer to the Sophists.

Melissus is also said (R. Pr. 111 [DK missing]) to have appended a %ó(a. It is possible, but Philoponos is a very dodgy fellow; he has a memory like a sieve, so naturally Melissus and Zeno get mixed up in his Christian mind. Simplicius the pagan is quite reliable; the Christian is a fraud. cf. R. Pr. p. 111. Note b. [DK 30 A 1 p. 258, 19 ff.] But this note is probably also incorrect.

The true continuation of the Parmenides [238] is

Leucippus.

Rhein. Mus. 42. 1 Diels [see note 316].[239]

Leucippus is the founder of atomism. Theophrastus (R. Pr. p. 154 [DK 67 A 8]) calls him an Eleatic or a Milesian, a successor to Parmenides, and the teacher of Democritus. He must have been a Milesian.

238 *Fr. A. Lange*, History of Materialism. [II Leipzig [5] 1896]

239 34. Philologenvers. *Rohde* | 35 Philologenvers. *Diels* | Fleck. *Jahrb.* 1880. Rohde.
[Rohde, Erwin: The Relationship between the Two Founders of Atomistic Materialism, … Leucippus and Democritus, in: Proceedings of the 34th Congress of German Philologists and Schoolmasters in Trier 1879, Leipzig 1880, pp. 64–89 | Diels: On Leucippus and Democritus, in: Proceedings of the 35th Congress … in Stettin 1880, Leipzig 1881, pp. 96–109 | Rohde, Erwin: Once Again on Leucippus and Democritus, in: Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie 123 (1881) 741–748]

Epicurus claimed that there was no philosopher named Leucippus at all [DK 67 A 2], a claim which has found credence with E. Rohde. Rohde notes that the memory of Leucippus has been preserved solely through Theophrastus and his copyists, and also that Leucippus's doctrines essentially coincide with those of Democritus. Furthermore, that the circumstances of his life are virtually unknown. But, apart from fables, we know scarcely more about the lives of the other philosophers, and the atomists, for the sake of their sobriety, were not associated with many fables.

Theophrastus is familiar with two treatises which are also found among those of Democritus. But might Democritus not have written treatises of the 'same name' which caused Leucippus's to fall into oblivion? And might not Leucippus's treatises also be included in the corpus of the Democritea, just as we distinguish at least five authors in the corpus of the Hippocratica? The titles are: μ?цас %táuοσμοc and νspì νοî. Rohde believes that Democritus' μtupòc %táuοσμοc must necessarily belong together with the μ?цас %táuοσμοc, seeking in both works the contrast between microcosm and macrocosm. But these late headings mean nothing more than 'thick and thin', [*062*] they are late and are used because of the size of the volumes.

Furthermore, Rohde believes that Democritus would have had to quote his predecessor; had that happened, Epicurus would not have been able to ignore the name. But does Theophrastus mention Aristotle's name? And yet he drew heavily upon him. In these early times, we have a magnificent community of intellectual heritage. Moreover, it was customary in the Library of Alexandria to compile the writings of a school of philosophy; the name of the most important and best-known among them was used as the 'title' for the entire collection of writings. And now, in the margin of one of Democritus's writings, we have the note that, according to Theophrastus, the μ?цас %táuοσμοc is that of Leucippus!

Rohde's classifications are therefore invalid. Leucippus certainly existed, at least around 460, and more likely somewhat earlier. His period can only be determined from evidence of his influence on later philosophers. Zeno and Melissus may have been, Empedocles probably was, and Democritus certainly was inspired by him. Leucippus himself was influenced by Parmenides, who taught [*063*] around 490, so we arrive at the period 490–420, the latter year being that of Democritus' death.

His teachings relate to the origin of the world and meteorology (μ?цас %táuοσμοc), and on the other hand to psychology (νspì νοî). However, the fragments are very few and are best dealt with in conjunction with Democritus.

Democritus

He hailed from the flourishing city of Abdera, a Clazomenian colony. Initially, the city suffered from Thracian raids until the Teirians, having been driven out by Harpagos, settled there; their enterprise elevated the city to a centre of trade and commerce. Apollodorus states that he was 40 years younger than Ana-

xagoras, which is probably correct. He was a friend and disciple of Leucippus(.) He also drew inspiration from the Pythagoreans. [*064*]

Around 420, Democritus would have been in Athens, in association with Protagoras and Anaxagoras; indeed, he had been in Egypt for 80 (l. 5) years, among the surveyors. And he was also in Athens, though unrecognised. The catalogue of writings by Thrasyllus, court scholar to Tiberius, contains both genuine and spurious works. Yet the diversity is reminiscent of Aristotle. Unfortunately, we know little. For a long time, Democritus's ethical writings were considered spurious, but *Natorp's* *Ethica des Democritus* (Marburg 1893) [Natorp, Paul: *Die Ethika des Democritus*] proves their authenticity. The style is witty and lively, often reminiscent of Plato. But one cannot derive him from Plato.

His writings were lost, as Epicurus adopted the essentials but gave no credit. Consequently, in academic circles, one polemicises against him at most. Some of his work may still have existed in the 1st century, but Simplikius no longer had it. Only a superstitious alchemical treatise has survived under his name and been edited by Berthelot,[240] it contains genuine recipes that may be connected to Democritus.

The Abderites' system builds on Parmenides, despite Gomperz. Parmenides had denied non-being; Leucippus linked being and non-being to becoming and passing away. [241] Thus, in their rejection of creation ex nihilo, the Abderites agree with Parmenides; for them, multiplicity = void, and movement is impossible for both if one denies the void. But emptiness exists, for all phenomena presuppose it; being and non-being are one. [242] That which is is τὸ κλήρος as in Parmenides, or also κενόν.

Movement only in empty space. 2) Dilution and condensation presuppose emptiness as a prerequisite(.) 3) Growth occurs only through the intake of food into empty pores.
4) A vessel filled with ash absorbs as much water [*065*] as if it were empty. What is new here is the inductive method. The division of parts does not now proceed to infinity; one atom remains, indivisible, like Parmenides' ὄν. Epicurus proceeds from this point, as do Leibniz and the moderns. But, of course, with differences.

In Leucippus's philosophy, the individual predicates derive from Parmenides' 'ὄν'. 1) Eternity, beginninglessness. 2) Being is full; thus the ἄτομον is also indivisible, for it has no gaps, being wholly and completely so. (ívszsc. 3) Unchangeable, for since there are no parts, no variation is possible. 4) μονοµεν?ς was the ὄν; thus the atoms are also simple and equal in quality. [243] Only our senses indicate—

240 *Berthelot, The Greek Alchemists.*
[Berthelot, Marcellin (ed.): Collection of the Ancient Greek Alchemists, published … with the collaboration of Charles-Émile Ruelle, Vol. III, Paris 1888]
241 *R. Pr. pp. 158, 159.* | *Doxogr. 483.* [DK 67 A 6 | DK 67 A 8 (front half)]
242 *Plut. Colotes 4. 2* | R. Pr. 160. B [DK 68 B 156 | DK 67 A 19 p. 76, 23 ff.]
243 *R. Pr. 168 N 157.* | *Galen on the Elements* [DK 68 B 9, 10, 6, 7, 8, 11 | DK 68 A 49]

As for the differences: sweet, bitter, hot, cold – in truth, merely atom and void. 5) The ὅν νόȣτον, the %ό(a, are untenable. So too are the atoms and the void, accessible only through thought, λόцL ȣsLpȣτά.

Where does the diversity of perception come from, where does the illusion come from? The fundamental principles cannot, of course, be different. But they differ 1) in form, 2) in sequence, 3) in position.[244] (1 form, 2 arrangement, 3 order) [Example: the characters] A, N form, AN, NA arrangement, ZN order – so Aristotle, or rather the interpolator, for around 340 I was still Z, H being compared to it at that time. The fundamental difference lies in form, hence the atoms σχήματα, ί%?at (Democritus νspì ί%sων, νspì %taφspόν των ρυσ-μων) cf. Theophrastus 516, 18 Dox(ographi), where the difference in size is discussed. Leucippus, too, wished to assume relative size, the atoms not being mathematical points. Democritus assumed atoms of varying weight, in that all bodies are in themselves of equal weight but arranged with varying densities, whereas the atoms are not of varying density but of varying size. [245] The tradition is, of course, not entirely unanimous. The void is a negative concept, bearing the ancient Pythagorean characteristic of infinity. Then the atoms too are infinite, for where there is void there are also atoms, the ancient [*066*] ανstpον!

Coming into being and passing away form a νsptνλουή, which is formed and dissolved, newly formed, etc. To grow means to gain new atoms; to diminish, to lose them. Everything proceeds mechanically, even in the act of seeing, etc.

We must distinguish between primary and secondary qualities (Locke). Heat and cold, colours, and taste are secondary;[246] the primary qualities are extraordinarily subtle and ingenious.[247] Weight = density, as is hardness. Iron is unevenly layered, lead is evenly layered, but less dense. Taste is determined by the arrangement of the atoms that come into contact with the tongue and their shape. But our taste buds also differ individually. He wrote two books νspì zροων [DK 68 A 33] (white, black, red, yellow as primary colours). White is shiny, i.e. composed of smooth, round atoms, or the matt white of atoms arranged at an angle. Black consists of uneven, rough atoms; light must cast a shadow. Red consists of very fine atoms. And then on to taste. Here lie the foundations for everything that follows. He rejects Empedocles' four elements, yet uses them in practice. Fire is, for him, a combination of primordial properties; round atoms are those that roll easily along.

He also explains motion:[248] The atoms float in space, in chaos—a thought shared by Anaximander. But the difference between %υνάμst and

244 *R. Pr. N 147* [DK 67 A 6]
245 *Aetius placita* (= Dox.) *361 b 18* | *285. 13* | *Arist. 326 A 9.* [DK 68 A 90, 47, 60]
246 *Theophrastus, *On the Senses**, § 69 ff. [Dox. 519 ff.]
247 *R. Pr. p. 164* [DK 68 A 135 (62–64)]
248 *Arist. 1069 B. 22*

We cannot attribute causality to Democritus; only the concept is genuine. Aristotle says that the atomists derived motion from blind chance.[249] Admittedly motion is not explained teleologically. But Leucippus had already said that everything arises from λόμον and ἀνάμυθς.[250] Moreover: chance is merely an expression of human helplessness. Those who possess reason can usually proceed in a straight path. He admits a [*067*] tiny τίχθ. But not in physics. Whoever finds a treasure finds it because they dig, regardless of the purpose. Only the ἀνάτσου remains – but this must have a materialistic expression – or is it an x? Divinity is ruled out, but the ἀνάτσου, the primordial source of all things, is gravity. Leucippus overlooked the fact that 'up' and 'down' are absent in the infinite. Lange (I. 130 [see note 238]) considers Epicurus's view that one may, however, assume a relative 'up' and 'down' to be correct and even Democritian. Incidentally, Epicurus introduced a voluntary special motion of the atom, thus breaking with Democritus. Others have not assumed gravity, but rather the whirling motion as the origin of atomic motion: thus Dilthey, Introduction to the History of Philosophy I 114 [see note 210] and Brieger.[251] But Laertius, Diogenes of Theophrastus, contradicts this. –

The first movement is downwards, but the lighter ones get caught up; hence σοῖς, an upward movement; from the counter-movement comes a lateral movement, from which arises the whirling movement, %ῖνος. The word appears in Simplicius, p. 327. Here, then, only a part is regarded as %ῖνος;[252] the concept originates from Leucippus; Aristophanes therefore has %ῖνος rule instead of %τὸς in the 'Clouds' [Nub. 379]. This vortex separates the constituents, from light fire to heavy earth. Elements of fire occur on earth and vice versa, however; each conglomerate forms a world, partly in the process of coming into being, partly in dissolution; they shatter upon collision, etc. But why do the υόσμοτ not fall? What sustains them – is it, in infinite fall, = rest? Does the vortex hold them back?

Regarding our υόσμος:[253] Atoms form a core and a lighter shell; the new arrivals attach themselves to this. They whirl round, forming celestial bodies; some fall into the centre, others enlarge the bodies that were initially moist but have been dried out and ignited in the vortex. The glowing lumps of Anaxagoras thus already present in [*068*] Leucippus. Two books on φύση, one of them on the nature of plants (φύτος), he dwells on the individual organ, praises its purposefulness; this is a contradiction to his own doctrine, but here likely the influence of Anaxagoras. Atomistic psychology was materialistic, the soul being body, yet explaining the life-giving principle. The atoms fulfil, as a result

249 *Arist. de caelo 3, 2* | *Diog. 3, 39.* | *R. Pr. 161 a*
[DK 67 A 16 | correctly Diog. Laert. 9, 33 = DK 67 A 1, cf. Diog. Laert. 9, 45 | DK 68 a 65, A 66]

250 Doxogr. R. Pr. 161, b [Doxographi 321 = DK 67 B 2]

251 *Brieger* on the Primordial Motion of Atoms 1884 [Brieger, Adolf: …, Halle 1884]

252 *R. Pr. 161. d.* | *Epicurus in Diog. X 90.* [DK 68 A 69, A 67 | DK 67 A 24 p. 78, 4 ff.]

253 R. Pr. 162, 151 A [DK 67 A 1 p. 70, 28–71, 6]

Just as its round shape determines its movement, so too is the soul round. Thought, too, is movement. The whole body is thus under the control of the soul, in that this easily movable atom holds the other atoms, as it were, in its hand; there are soul-atoms everywhere, but particularly densely concentrated around the five senses and the brain; from there the command goes out through the whole body. Here lie the achievements of Alcmaeon. But are the light fire atoms not oppressed by the two bodily atoms that enclose them? [254] But that is what breathing is for, constantly introducing new fire atoms. Thus death, sleep and apparent death are explained.

There is no immortality,[255] belief in it arises from the
a guilty conscience. Lucretius follows him in this: 'tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!' [1, 101] Yet the soul is superior; from Pythagoras's language he takes συήνοc, συήν0 for the body, merely a tent for the soul. One ought to care more for the soul than for the body; according to Cicero's *De Naturae* I. 12. 29 [DK 68 A 74], Democritus regarded the intellect as divine. He calls the deity *νοῖc*, its form spherical and fiery. In this he resembles Heraclitus, in that the soul is fire. Yet Democritus remains a materialist. The divine is the substance of the soul; here too, hylozoism. Lange [see note 238] believes that this is a merit of the system, that here philosophy is conducted solely on materialist terms – but the doctrine ends where the problems begin.

The air is full of soul-atoms,[256] animals and plants have souls, as do corpses. Cic. Tusc. I. 184. [recte 1, 82] The followers deny this. [*069*] But Democritus is, for this very reason, in favour of embalming(,) rather than cremation.[257] Leucippus presents in the vspì νοῖ the guiding ideas concerning sensory perceptions.[258] These are merely alternations of the object and the subject. All the senses are stimulated by contact; that is to say, there is no direct tactile sensation here, but rather a peculiar doctrine of emanations.[259] Atoms separate themselves from visible things; these, as si%ωλa, %síυλa, move the air in the process, conveying the image to the eye through the impression in the air. But the sharpness of the τίνοc suffers from the resistance of the air and that of the emanations of our eye.[260] If space were empty, we could see an ant in the sky. This theory made a great impression on Empedocles, indeed on Plato. Sound also strikes the air, and thus the ear; the more similar the atoms are to our ear atoms, the more harmonious the sound becomes. High-pitched sounds originate from short atoms.

The internal movement of the brain (Theophr. de sensu 58 [DK 68 A 135 (58)]) arises from warmth; too much heat or too much cold leads to madness.[261] Here, Eleatic eggshells. A distinction is made between ιν0σί0 – συοτί0 ιν0μ0, the true

254 *Hart, Leipzig 1886. Mühlhauser Programme.*
[Hart, Gustav: On the Doctrine of the Soul and Knowledge of Democritus, Mulhouse and Leipzig 1886]
255 *Stob. flor.* [approx. DK 68 B 297]
256 *R. Pr. 166. 154* [Doxographi 390 = DK 68 A 117]
257 Diels Hermes 13. 4 [Diels: Atacta, in: Hermes 13 (1878) 1–9, here p. 4]
258 *Varro Sat. 114 Riese* [DK 68 A 161]
259 *R. Pr. 155* [Doxographi 395 = DK 67 A 30]
260 *Arist. On the Soul*.
261 *R. Pr. 169 f* * [Arist. 1009 a 38 (DK 68 A 112)]

knowledge cf. ἀλήθεια, δόξα of Parmenides.[262] Perception is merely the foundation of truth. But how does one distinguish between the genuine and the spurious? Even in δόξα there is truth! The φαινόμενα are images of reality, though they are clouded.[263] Experience and intuition allow one to infer the true original. Admittedly, Epicurus' criteria are hardly characteristic of Democritus. But ((Theophrastus) de sensu 65 [DK 68 A 135 (65)]) that there is much that is individual here, that only the σοφός can possess the μνῆσις, is certain; other people think like animals.[264] Thus the Abderites believe in genius. There is something divine in some people, the enthusiasm that Democritus himself possesses.[265] He compares his work [*070*] with that of Zeus. Sextus 7, 135 [DK 68 B 9, B 10] quotes him as saying that we know nothing certain about the nature of things. The truth lies in the abyss.[266] But there is no true scepticism here. Democritus argues strongly against Protagoras. The ὀνόματα are θέσει, as is clear from the synonyms, homonyms and anonyms. Thus, an arbitrary convention. But this is not scepticism either; Parmenides, too, found confusion in the names of language. Grammar and logic go hand in hand here. Philologically, in Democritus' works, it is probably περὶ ῥημάτων. And we also have fragments of this kind.

Democritus also predates Socrates in the field of ethics.[267] The fragments on ethics have been declared spurious (Rose, Rohde, etc.). Ethics does not lie at the heart of his philosophy, which is why Aristotle does not take it into account. It was not until Seneca and later thinkers that he was taken up, but even here Epicurus absorbed everything. Much is found in Stobaeus – from ancient collections, probably from Chrysippus, as Elter suggested. In ethics, Democritus appears, according to the stylistically unquestionably genuine fragments, to be a genius.[268] His starting point is purely practical. The superstition of the masses, which Heraclitus mocked, Pythagoras had deepened, (Democritus περὶ δυσθυμίης) combated: from science arises the fearless mind; his sages are calm. Pleasure and displeasure are the yardstick for what is useful and harmful (fr. 8) and the best thing in life is as much joy as possible, thus

262 *Arist. de gener. 316ª 13* [DK 68 A 48b]

263 *Hirzel on Cicero's writings* | *Rohde*, Trier Philologists' Society | *Natorp* on the history of the problem of knowledge.
[Hirzel, Rudolf: Studies on Cicero's Philosophical Writings, Leipzig III 1877–83 | Rohde see note 239 | Natorp, Paul: Research on the History of the Problem of Knowledge in Antiquity, Berlin 1884]

264 *Doxogr. 399.* 22 [399, 15–22 = DK 68 A 115]

265 *Sextus Empiricus* VII 265 [DK 68 B 165]

266 *R. Pr. 169 note* | *Plut. Coloten* 4. 1 | *Proclus on Plato Cratylus 16*
[DK 68 B 117 | DK 68 B 156 | DK 68 B 26]

267 *Lortzing* on the ethical fragments of Democritus. 1873. Sophieengymnasium. | *Natorp* Ethical Fragments of Democritus
[Lortzing, Franz: … Berlin 1873 | Natorp see page 46]

268 *R. Pr. 170, 158, 171*
[DK 68 A 1 (45) on εὐθυμία; then Sentences B 191, 216, 189, 171, 215, 230, 159 (p. 176, 3), 32, A 170, B 277, 62, 96, 83, 247]

to suffer as little as possible. But pleasure does not lie in gold, etc.; the daimon dwells in the soul. [269] It is the sí 0στώ of the mind, the right kind of firmness; he teaches a symmetry in morality, a purity derived from scholarly pursuit.[270] Here he is a precursor of Aristotle; he preaches the aurea media. What is distinctive about him is his polemic against marriage; like Euripides, he hates women and has little interest in children. [*071*]

The άνάτçu0 is divine, the spiritual in general. The names of the gods are, to him, symbols of the forces of nature. Thus arises the fear of the gods. Theophanies, visions in dreams, and incubations demand spirits to explain them—long-lived, air-dwelling, powerful beings. They are si%ωλa, which exert beneficial or harmful influence.[271] This is where Epicurus comes in; Democritus posited angels and devils. Thus, even for the atomist, there is a connection to sacrifice and the state religion.

Empedocles.

He is younger than Leucippus, older than Democritus. R. Pr. 124 [DK 31 A 1]. He is not particularly significant; he was an eclectic thinker. He came from Akragas, which was under Theon's rule (together with Hieron, he defeated the Carthaginians at Himera in 480). Sicily in the first half of the 5th century was, as it were, the Athens of the second half of the 5th century. Democracy was introduced around 470; he is said to have refused the crown himself,[272] but he died in poverty – probably in the Peloponnese. Glaukos of Rhegium, according to Apollodorus, dates him to 484–425 BC, whilst Aristotle places him after Anaxagoras. Perhaps Empedocles is somewhat older than 484. He is serious and yet a charlatan.[273] He compiles from Leucippus and others. But in the uathap-μοί quite mystical – he is a miracle-working priest, a consecrating priest.[274] There he goes, preaching. He heals Akragas (Diog. 8, 60), he revives the apparently dead, diverts rivers, etc. Along with various elements from later novels. Aristotle (Sextus 7, 6 [DK 31 A 19]) calls him the inventor of rhetoric, which Gorgias, his pupil, brings to Athens. Everything here is artificial, quite unlike with Parmenides; these are two distinct cultures. Parmenides is rooted in the peasant culture of southern Italy; Sicily is leading the way. In physics he is a serious man, modest, timid, warning against the delusion that we comprehend the whole, [275] here a deliberate polemic against Parmenides. It is marvellous, these two persons in one. What a face

269 *Stob. flor. 46, 46.* [probably DK 68 B 171]
270 *R. Pr. 170. a.* [Seneca, De tranqu. 2, 3 and DK 68 A 167]
271 Sextus 9, 19; R. Pr. 167. N 156 [DK 68 B 166]
272 *Rhein. Mus. 31, 97.* [Diels, as in note 25]
273 *Renan,* Mélanges 404.
[Renan, Ernest: Mélanges d'histoire et de voyages, Paris 1878, p. 104: "this Newton seems to be a double with a Cagliostro"]
274 *R. Pr. 125* ff. f. [DK 31 A 1]
275 *R. Pr. 126,* No. 130 [DK 31 B 2]

Is it genuine? Both are probably just masks. One for the masses, the other for the educated. He argues against the Orphics there, against Parmenides here. It's not meant seriously. In the end [*072*], he becomes as dogmatic as anyone. The four elements [276]– Heraclitus had already taken three of them on board, and he was also already familiar with four states of matter – form his basis; he was the first to do so. The name 'stozsîov' does not come from Empedocles, but from Plato; they are the letters in a specific order. Empedocles focuses on the external aspects here:[277] Zeus, Hera, Hades, Nestis: fire, air, earth, water. He designates them mythologically, because they are the world-creating principles.[278] Fire is the active principle, the other three the passive; this brings us to Parmenides, whom he also follows in denying generation and decay, maintaining that there is a μî(tc. Nothing comes from nothing; nothing in the universe is empty or superfluous.[279] But how he allows the four elements to mix without empty space is difficult to understand. It is not a upãs, merely a juxtaposition of the individual molecules. But then interstices, vópot, are necessary, which must be empty. Aristotle (De Generat. I. 8 [DK 31 A 87]) therefore classifies Empedocles among the atomists. And Empedocles is indeed dependent on them, not the other way round. Here we see the influence of Leucippus. But Empedocles also teaches the separation of small parts, which must penetrate and fit into the pores (àpμóvstv). This is atomism at its finest. Empedocles is not an original thinker; he merely makes visible, applying the Abderite system to the elements. In his metaphysics, however, he is valuable: he separates the forces from the substances, naming the two forces hatred and love. The force is thus broken down into φθλία and vsîuoc.[280] Love brings about union, hatred brings about separation, but in truth these are one and the same, as Aristotle observes. Thus the world comes into being: from the unformed primordial substances, the combination of the elements changes, the dominion of vsîuoc and φtλία alternates. And so on ad infinitum. It is a uíuλoc, between [*073*] absolute unity and multiplicity.[281] An individual existence is impossible. Parmenides' σφαίπα appears here as σφαίπος, chaos before the vortex. [282] In the process, he gradually grows fearful of sensory knowledge; he creates a new Aphrodite, far surpassing mere intuitive wisdom. He has become transcendental. The fact that he appeals to cult and linguistic usage is of no use to us. Empedocles is a Protean nature; he is by no means always consistent. The vsîuoc, when defeated, is powerless, but then gathers strength again.[283] The ц?vsστc is very unclear in Empedocles. Through the vsîuoc, it—

276 *R. Pr. N 131. a* [Doxographi 286 = DK 31 A 33]
277 R. Pr. 128. 131 [a]. [DK 31 A 33]
278 *Arist. A 985* [a] *31* [recte 21 = DK 31 A 37]
279 *R. Pr. p. 129 v. 36* [DK 31 B 8]
280 *R. Pr.* 130 v. 61 [DK 31 B 17]
281 *Dümmler,* Academica 217
[Dümmler, Ferdinand: Akademika. Contributions to the Literary History of the Socratic Schools, Giessen 1889]
282 *R. Pr. v. 74 ff* [DK 31 B 17, 14 ff.]
283 *Arist. 301.* [a] *15* Physics. [recte De caelo, DK 31 A 42]

First comes the firmament, upon which the stars are situated; the vortex sets the sphere between earth and sky in rotation; if the upper half is bright, it is day; if the dark half is above, it is night. He posits that the sun is like a glass sphere placed before the flame. The traditions are unclear. The moon is lens-shaped, receiving its light from the sun; initially, the movement of the stars proceeded more slowly. Before the light appears, plants are created; animals, which differ only slightly from them, follow. Here we find a magnificent, yet often taken to absurd extremes, monism, as is frequent in the 5th century. cf. v. 219 [recte 209 = DK 31 B 73]. He also speaks of nutrition, stating that taste comes from the earth. [284] He banishes purpose from the cosmos. Only that which is harmoniously formed and comes into being by chance lives on. Thus, too, did man come into being. First as primordial slime, then finally, after a long series, man himself. Anaximander and probably also Leucippus had paved the way here. Epicurus held a similar view. He speaks at length about love (Doxogr. 431. 1 [DK 31 A 72]).[285] He has analysed embryology, specifying the mixture of the individual parts from the elements.[286] The whole body breathes in – this too is likely Leucippian. Air presses in from the outside [*074*] into the pores. Like recognises like; the smell arises when small particles break away and collide with the same atom [sic]. The moving air strikes the ear, just as the clapper strikes the bell, etc. The entire doctrine of the elements is atomistic, for in Empedocles the whole does not harmonise! Thought is inherent in all living beings.[287] The blood, as it surges, is the thoughts of man. That is a popular view. The differences in the mixture of blood give rise to different ways of thinking.[288] The wise have more fire, the foolish more earth and water. Kindred qualities are emphasised; what suits man arouses desire, etc. He has already paid attention to such ethical problems. Sophistry casts its shadow. His religion has nothing to do with this system, which flowed together from all sources. Here he does not wish to instruct ή %ήλον Fυάστον; here he is a miracle-worker. He is as we are now. The movement began in Sicily; the Sophists developed it, and from this sprang the great philosophy. He presents himself as a god, [289] is a fallen angel, a wandering one. Here the dual principle recalls Zoroastrian doctrine.[290] He traverses the elements in his wanderings, ((R. Pr.) 150 v. 383) [DK 31 B 117], but finds no rest anywhere. Poetically, this is highly significant. But the content

284 *R. Pr. 137 α* [B 57, A 72, B 61 (p. 334, 18 ff.)]

285 *Lange I. 29* | *Zeller*, Darwin's predecessor, Berl. Acad. Abh. 1878. 117. | *Doxogr. 431. Note 13* | Doxogr. 189.
[Lange see Note 238 | Zeller see Note 104 | Galen passage on Dox. 431,13 | DK 31 A 72]

286 *R. Pr. 144 v. 198* [DK 31 B 96]

287 *R. Pr. V. 231*, p. 146. d [DK 31 B 110 v. 10]

288 *R. Pr. p. 148. e.* [DK 31 B 105]

289 *R. Pr. 149. v. 369* [DK 31 B 115]

290 *R. Pr. p. 151. d* [DK 31 B 119, B 124, A 62]

Charlatanism.[291] He is on the rise again. He is connected to mysteries which we also know from Pindar in Akragas. Empedocles calls upon others to follow him; one must be sinless and abstain from the consumption of flesh, for the souls of men dwell within the animals.[292] In his discussion of sacrifices, he touched upon the bloodless Golden Age, which he describes well.[293] The god of Empedocles is entirely Xenophanic.[294] Not a ruler of the world, not a creator of the world. Yet here too there is inconsistency. His [075] physics and his theology have nothing in common internally; they cancel each other out – though not for Empedocles, who embellishes popular ideas in the Xenophanic manner. He is thoroughly gifted, but weak, lacking a solid foundation. Plato (Sophist 242. E) already sees this. He is a problematic character, thinking of everything but never seeing anything through to the end. [295] He has his poems read at Olympia, but his only pupil, Gorgias, learns from him only the form.

Pindar and Aeschylus, roughly the same age and certainly friends, remind us at the same time of Empedocles. They are deeply devout, seeing in Zeus the μόνος θσός, yet man derives from God in terms of the soul – here a Heraclitean insight. Man should guard against the envy of the gods;[296] here the concept of the transmigration of souls intersects with the notion of Tartarus. This is most fully expounded in the Olympic Ode

II. It is addressed to Theon of Akragas, who was familiar with mysteries in his homeland. The third member of the trio, Aeschylus, also points to Sicily. A guest of Hiero around 476; whilst Hiero was building Aetna, he wrote The Aetnaeans and staged The Persians there. Much in Aeschylus's language, e.g. the ending -ωνὸς, is Sicilian. In a few places one feels modern impulses in him – but for the most part he is an unbroken force of nature. The splendour of the Pentecontaetia is also enhanced by him, the splendour of Periclean Athens. Everything revolves around Pericles; from 460 (to) 520 AD, Athens remains the centre of Greek philosophy. It establishes

Anaxagoras.

He moved there in his later years. *Schaubach*, Leipzig 1827. Fragmenta. | *Schorn*, Bonn 1829. Anaxagorae fragmenta. [Anaxagorae Clazomenii Fragmenta … coll. Eduard Schaubach, Leipzig 1827 | Anaxagorae Clazomenii … fragmenta ed. Wilhelm Schorn (Diss.), Bonn 1829 and 1830]

291 *R. Pr. 151. 447* [DK 31 B 146]
292 *R. Pr. 153. v. 430.* [DK 31 B 137]
293 *R. Pr. 152. v. 405* [DK 31 B 128]
294 *Bernays, Theophrastus and Piety*
[Bernays, Jacob: Theophrastus' Treatise on Piety, Berlin/Breslau 1866]
295 (Diogenes 8, 38) [probably 8,68]
296 *Pindar fr. 110* [Bergk^2 = Snell/M. 133 = Plat. Men. 81 b]

His father's name is Hegioboulos, Euboulos.[297] Zeller has demonstrated, [*076*] that he was born around 500.[298] 428 (died), as a result of Diopeithes' edict. He dies in Lampsacus when Pericles is unable to protect him after 433. Archelaos continued his school in Athens.

Numerous fragments in Simplikius. He too draws on Parmenides' doctrine of unity. The immutability of Eleatic being becomes, in his view, the immutability of atoms—here, in number and quality, infinite primordial substances, ὸμοτομ?pstat. For the atomists, the ultimate force lies within the bodies themselves. In the voîc, a causal prior, freely exalted above all else here. [299] Our individual substances are said to be the simple, the so-called elements [whereas] a conglomerate. [300] The parts referred to by Aristotle as ὸμοτομ?pstat[301] are not unmixed; Anaxagoras himself calls them σν?ρματα. No part can initially stand out clearly from the others. They are as if sifted through, eventually arranging themselves together (συμμίσμσθαt and %taupívsσθat); this is becoming and passing away.[302] The primordial substance remains, but the nature of its composition changes and foreign particles also penetrate it. Thus every body is called a potiori.[303] Snow is black because it consists of water.

*Aristotle's *Physics* I. 4* offers the critique. A contradiction with Anaximander would arise if they were infinitely divisible; yet, according to Anaxagoras, there is no void; the tied-up tube offers resistance! cf. Aristotle's *Physics* 4, 6 [213a–24]. Anaxagoras paid little heed to the difficulties of the primordial mixture; order was established by the voîc. The word means 'all'; in Homer it means 'sense'; then 'understanding'; here it denotes the highest reason. Zeller 'Spirit'. It is opposed to matter in everything. It is the finest, purest. Nothing is like the other. (Leibniz took this up). But the voîc is the same everywhere, yet mixed in different ways. [304] Initiative comes only through it; it must

[*077*] To be all-knowing. His primary task is the creation of the world. Why should one prefer life to death? So that one might contemplate the υόσμοc. Astronomical studies led him to formulate the concept of the voîc and its opposite, the ζρήματα.[305] The voîc is the λσντότατον νάντων – still conceived in somewhat material terms! One cannot speak of a theism in Anaxagoras. He stops halfway. The almighty creator of the world, the ontological proof of God, proceeds from him. [306] The fulfilment of purposes

297 *Rhein Mus. 31* [Diels, as in note 25]
298 *R. Pr. 112* [DK 59 A 7, 1 (7), 17, 1 (14, 4)]
299 *R. Pr. 115 N 120* [DK 59 B 1]
300 *R. Pr. 114/115* [DK 59 A 43]
301 *Arist. On the Heavens* III. 3 [DK 59 A 43]
302 *R. Pr.* N 119. [DK 59 B 17]
303 *Doxogr. 479 = R. Pr.* 118. Conclusion. [DK 59 A 41 with B 12]
304 *R. Pr. 123 p. 118* [DK 59 B 12]
305 *Hoffmann,* The Concept of God in Anaxagoras, etc. Würzburg 1860.
[Hoffmann, Franz: On the Concept of God in Anaxagoras, Socrates and Plato]
306 Essay by *Dümmler: Academica* 103 [see note 281]

The voîc is the creation of the world, yet the voîc remains a deus ex machina. *Phaedo* 97. B. *Leges* cf. *R. Pr. 119.* d. [DK 59 A 47, Nomoi 967 bc] The movement begins at a point and continues, as when a stone falls into water (fr. 6 [Schaubach? = DK 59 B 4 end; better here DK 59 B 13]). The voîc need only provide the impetus; the rest is taken care of by the %îvoc of the atomists. This brings about the separation of substances; first the most general opposites separate: dark – light(,) wet – dry: άήp, aiθ0p. άήp lies as vapour in the centre; from this comes water, from this the earth, and from this, solidifying, the rocks – as with Anaximenes (fr. 13 [Schaubach? = DK 59 B 12 end, better here B 12 as a whole])(.) Detached lumps, made incandescent by rotation, become the heavenly bodies. It is precisely this doctrine that does him great harm. Once the water has dried up, salt content arises. Simplicius held that the world is eternal, that the whole is to be grasped only figuratively. But since the eternity of the world was first asserted by Aristotle, Simplicius borrowed this idea from Anaxagoras. Fr. 10 [Schaubach? = DK 59 A 53, hardly appropriate here] is difficult to understand. It probably refers to the moon. Anaxagoras explained eclipses by means of unknown bodies that cast shadows. Anaxagoras seems to have given little thought to the end of the world.

The earth once lay flat as a roller, and so it is with him. The moon as large as the Peloponnese! He has much in common with Democritus; indeed, Democritus owes much to Anaxagoras in this regard. The voîc only comes to the fore again in organic nature. It lives in all bodies, but is actually superfluous (Arist. de anima 405. [DK 59 A 55, A 100]). He also explains the origin of the first humans through the mixture of Aether and earth.

It is not the similar, but the dissimilar that influences one another (according to Heraclitus).[307] The eyeball is dark; therefore, through the contrast with the bright object, we see. Taste, too, is a matter of contrast. Everything is mixed; only the voice is unmixed. Having acknowledged the deception of the senses,[308] he nevertheless seeks to find the truth within the images.[309] Nor does he dwell much on religious questions.[310] He does, however, concern himself with geometry and astronomy.[311] He is said to have predicted the meteor shower of 469. He will have pointed this out, described it to support his view. The squaring of the circle also occupied him.[312] Hippocrates, his contemporary, constructs the lunulae; taken as a whole, however, Anaxagoras is merely a contemporary renewal of Anaximander, whereas his pupils, for example Archelaus, went back to Anaximenes, and *Hippon*[313] to Thales. Kratinos mocks him.

307 *Theophrastus, in the sense of I 27* [Doxographi 507 = DK 59 A 92]
308 *Sextus. 7, 140* [DK 59 B 21 a]
309 *Diogenes II. 11* [DK 59 A 1 (11)]
310 *Müller F. H. II. 52*
[Fragmenta historicorum graecorum ed. Karl Müller, Vol. 2, Paris 1848, recte 53 = DK 30 A 3 (p. 259, 22 ff.) on Stesimbrotos]
311 *Eudemus in Proclus on Euclid 19* [DK 59 A 9]
312 *Plut. On Exile 17.* | *Simplicius, Physics 60.* [DK 59 A 38 | cf. DK 42, 3]
313 *R. Pr. 180* [DK 38]

The seed, too, is moist, hence the soul is akin to it. Everything arises from water. We now have a fragment by him.[314] All water comes from the sea; if the wells were deeper, it would come from elsewhere. Aristotle treats this clumsy fellow rather dismissively. But he evidently found an audience; in the *Menoneia* there is another fragment that probably belongs to him.[315] Here too he is amateurish where he touches on medicine. [*079*]

Diogenes of Apollonia, however, a contemporary of Anaxagoras, was quite different.[316] Simplicius uses vspì φίσsωc. Air is his principle. But modernised, blatantly hylozoistic (R. Pr. N. 160 [DK 64 B 1, B 2]). He calls for simple, serious language. His principle must be 1) a common substance(,) 2) at the same time an intelligent force. This body-mind, following on from Anaxagoras, is for him the air. It is our air – but Ritter and Damascius naturally find a finer air within it! It is divine, omniscient, is Being and Thought. But here of a different quality. The best air is above, hence the upright man av-θρωνoc possesses reason. Heat is the active cause, creating the vortex. The stars are riddled with holes like pumice. Heat plays a significant role in all life. Arist. animal. hist. III 2. [DK 64 B 6] reveals medical knowledge. He is essentially practical-eclectic.[317] Theophrastus says he also drew on Leucippus. Aristophanes' clouds parody Diogenes, as does a chorus, Socrates in a hammock to breathe the purer air, etc.[318] This establishes Diogenes' chronology.

Archelaos was influenced by Diogenes.[319] Anaxagoras is central to the creation of the world

, Archelaus(') fire and air = a0p and aiθ0p, the voîc being the air inhaled by Diogenes. Diog. II. 16 is unsubstantiated; he forms the bridge to Socrates in the succession, but scarcely in spirit. What is attributed to him here, however, is sophistical wisdom, quite possibly. [*080*]

314 *Nicole*, Geneva, Iliad Scholia I. 198. 10.
[DK 38 B 1 = Les scolies genevoises de l'Iliade, publ par Jules Nicole, II Paris 1891]

315 Supplementum Aristotelicum III. 1 p. 17 [see note 15]

316 *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy* 1811. Schleiermacher. | *Rheinische Museum 42, 1* | *Panzerbieter* Fragments. | *Schorn Anaxagoras*
[Schleiermacher, F. D. E.: On Diogenes of Apollonia, in: Treatises of the Philosophical Class of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences from the years 1804–1811, Berlin 1815, pp. 79–96 | Diels: Leucippus and Diogenes of Apollonia, in: Rhein. Mus. 42 (1887), 1–14 | Panzerbieter, Friedrich: De Diogenis Apolloniatae vita et scriptis, Meiningen 1823; ibid.: Diogenes Apollonia-tes …, Leipzig 1830 | Schorn see page 54]

317 *Rhein. Mus. 42, 1* [see note 316]

318 *Philol. Vers.* 35. *Stettin p. 6 ff.* [see note 239, recte p. 106–108]

319 *R. Pr. 178* [DK 60]

II Sophistry

Hegel drew attention to sophistry; see *K. F. Hermann*, *History of Platonic Philosophy*, pp. 179 ff., 296 ff. [320] [Hermann, Karl Friedrich: *History and System of Platonic* Philosophy 1, Heidelberg 1839]

Grote, A History of Greece, Part 2, Chapter 67. *Zeller* takes a favourable view of them [see p. 10, Vol. 1,2, pp. 1038–1164]. He does not distinguish between the individual representatives.[321]

Sophistry lies halfway between the earlier period and the Socratic era. The term is not strictly defined; moreover, most of these figures were not philosophers, but merely sought to be teachers of wisdom for practical purposes. It is the journalism of antiquity. They speak; their aim is persuasion, and a fine style is essential. They break down the walls of the school; σοφιστής = σοφός, but now it is he who brings wisdom to market for money. Yet they proudly call themselves by this name, as did Plato [322]and Aristippus. It is the pursuit of science for practical purposes. Naturally, the standard declines due to the mass of those jostling to get in. Cf. Voltaire and his circle. The tenets of the natural sciences are disseminated, but most retreat to the subject, to the individual. The rights of the individual are recognised.[323] Until then, one felt oneself to be a member of the state, the tribe, the family. In art, too, the 'I' is emphasised. All Enlightenment carries a great deal of scepticism within it. We have already encountered this scepticism, strongly in Cratylus and in Zeno. It now develops into eristic. This is parodied in Euthydemus. Cf. Aristotle vspì σοφτστtuων 0λ?μzων.[324] But distinctions always come to the fore in this process; for Plato, this is conceivable only on the basis of these studies. [325] The cultivation of eloquence (Spengel συνατσωτή τszνων) (Blass att. Bereds(.) I [see note 342]) is a virtuosity; one teaches and learns. The 0vt%sî(stc for this: Gorgias speaks extemporaneously on any subject. [*081*] Triviality is the inevitable consequence of such work based on templates. Thus eulogies on death, salt, silkworms – advertising and formula. The sophist makes a brilliant appearance; they travel

320 *Geel*, A Critical History of the Sophists, 1822. [Geel, Jacob: … Utrecht 1823]

321 *Baumhauer*, Quam vim sophistae habuerint etc., 1844. Utrecht.
[Baumhauer, Theodor Carel Matthijs von: Disputatio literaria qua examinatur quam vim … Utrecht 1844]

322 *Prot. 216* Plato

323 *J. Lange*, Akad. Dän. 1892 | cf. *Revue des Univ. du Midi* 1893.
[Lange, Julius: The Representation of the Human Figure in the Visual Arts from the Earliest Period to the Height of Greek Art ... (Royal Danish Society of Sciences, Series 5. Hist. and Philos. Section, Vol. 5, (No.) IV), Copenhagen 1892 | Espinas, Alfred: La philosophie de l'action au Ve siècle av. J.-C., in: Annales de la faculté des lettres de Bordeaux 1893, 1–49]

324 *Prantl, Logic 22 ff*
[Prantl, Carl: History of Logic in the West, Vol. IV, Leipzig 1855–1870, Vol. 1]

325 *Classen* on the origins of Greek grammar. | *Steinthal on linguistics.*
[Classen, Johannes: … (Diss.) Bonn 1829 | Steinthal, Heymann: History of Linguistics among the Greeks and Romans, II Berlin [2] 1890–1891]

like virtuosos. But even this external technique is not without fruit: Attic prose derives from them, albeit partly in contrast. Gorgias' influence is always traceable.

The ethics of the Sophists have a bad reputation. The ancient Sophists sought to guide their listeners towards virtue. Heracles at the crossroads of Prodikus, eternal.[326] But the times are pushing towards a free, individual morality, the law of the stronger, anarchistic. This is how Plato depicted it in Callicles and Thrasymachus (Plato's Gorgias, etc.). Nietzsche proves that they are true. Through him, we can study Master Gorgias well at all.

Lycophron, the sophist, describes noble birth as a significant advantage – a deliverance from dire straits. Alkidamas (4th century) calls slavery unnatural. [327]Euripides demonstrates that these ideas were already prevalent in the 5th century. The widely travelling Sophists acquire a broad outlook; Herodotus, too, is under their influence here. The various dialects lead them to linguistic investigations, to όρθο?vsta. In the moral sphere, too, they become rationalists. They demonstrate that virtue can be taught and justify tolerance. But nowhere do they go deeply. They shake the belief in the gods to its very foundations. Euripides learned from them here, and Aristophanes himself does not shy away from it. The Sophists now give unbelief a scientific veneer. Moderns have passed harsh judgement on them. But we Christians truly have no reason to reproach them. [*082*] Unless it is out of a sense of our own weakness.

Admittedly, they are superficial. In seeking to influence young people in a practical way, he has time only to go broad and far, not deep. τὸν ήττω λότσον upsíττω votsîv. The fee is quite reasonable. They are, after all, not philosophers in the true sense. It all comes down to drill. There can be no question of a bond of Ηρωc amongst these foreign men. [328] Their teaching is not sacred; it is a practical guide to life; they have no 0ντστήμ0, but a τ?zv0. Like the poet, the doctor, like all τszvîtat, they charge for their services and accept anyone. The impact on the masses is the main thing. But it is only ephemeral; their writings are entirely lost. Isocrates charged 750, Protagoras 7,500 drachmas per course.

We must single out individuals from the masses.

326 *Xen. Mem.* II 1. [21-34]

327 *Vahlen, Vienna Academy, 1873.*
[Vahlen, Johannes: The Rhetorician Alkidamas. Proceedings of the Vienna Academy 43 (1863) 491–528]

328 *Xen. Mem. I. 6, 13*

[Protagoras]

The most important *Protagoras of Abdera.*[329] (*Frei* quaest. Protagoreae *Natorp* Gesch. d. The problem of knowledge according to L. *Gomperz*, a Greek philosopher. [Frei, Joh.: Quaestiones Protago-reae, Bonn 1845 | Natorp see note 263 | Gomperz see note 10] *The Apology of Medicine* [ed. Gomperz] Vienna 1890 *Gomperz* believed this to be a work by Protagoras.[330] But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that this is false. (Died) 411, from Abdera, went to Sicily, enjoyed great success, enacted laws in Thurioi, lived in Athens with Callias, associated with Anaxagoras and Pericles. He fled after writing his book on the gods and drowned on his way home. We have many titles, including vspì νολττsíac – for political theory comes to the fore. [331] We know his άλήθsta from Plato's Theaetetus in satirical criticism, the υαταβάλλοντsc λότc, the instruction on victory in the battle of words.[332] But all these titles will be arbitrary. He writes in Ionic – νάντων zp0μάτων μ?τpον ανθρωνοc. One can interpret this individually, as the ancients did: every person is the measure of themselves.[333] And this view alone is genuinely sophistical. A general application would have been trite and would have meant nothing. This is how Gomperz interpreted it. Protagoras drew on the Heraclitean flux. Sensation exists only at the moment of contact
and perception, which vary according to the individuality of each person. The moderns must have attributed all this to Plato's imagination.[334] But there is no reason for that at all. Heracliteanism, however, is supported by atomism. The doctrine of atoms lies in the outflows.[335] And Leucippus had, after all, founded his school in Abdera. It is precisely in him that the concept of subjectivity asserts the subjectivity of certain properties. Protagoras remains with scepticism, whilst the atomist becomes dogmatic.[336] Protagoras's sensualism is purely practical. He wishes to deter people from dogmatism, and also from mathematical propositions.[337] He is hostile towards science. He promises virtue, delight in beauty,[338] the famous myth of creation,[339] the νολττuή τ?zv0 protects against the outside world. Who protected it from itself? aí%ώc and %íu0 descend from Olympus

329 *R. Pr. 183* | *Fleck. Suppl. 1881* Halbfaß.
[DK 80 A 1 | Halbfass, Wilhelm: The Accounts of Plato and Aristotle concerning Protagoras, in: Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, 13th Supplement (1884) 151–211; separately published in Leipzig 1882]

330 *Rhein. Mus. 31* [Diels, as in note 25]

331 *Rhein. Mus. 7 Bernays.* [The καταβάλλοντsc of Protagoras, in: Rh. Mus. 7 (1850) 464–468]

332 *Bacchae Eurip. 200*

333 *Jerusalem* Eranos Vindobonensis Vienna 1893.
[Jerusalem, Wilhelm: On the Interpretation of the Homo-mensura Theorem, in: Eranos Vind. 153–162.]

334 *Hume, Human Nature* I. 4.
[A Treatise of Human Nature 1, 4: On the Connexion or Association of Ideas]

335 *Long* History of Mathematics I. [see Note 238]

336 *Sextus 7, 389.* [DK 80 A 19]

337 *Arist. 998 a. 2* [DK 80 B 7]

338 *Plato, Protagoras 318. A*

339 [Plat. Prot.] *320 D*

down. Those who take part belong solely to the state. Is this Platonic? Are the basic principles genuine? The form may well be Platonic, but the moral – that the Sophist's teaching makes a man a man – is genuine. The άνττλο-ιτuά or uαταβάλλοντsc contained an ideal of the state. The teaching educates one to govern. We may attribute this thought to Protagoras, from whom Plato derived it. The mythological is certainly Platonic, or metonymic expressions. For vspì θsων A he denies any knowledge of the gods [DK 80 B 4]. The obscurity of the matter and the brevity of life prevent him from attaining knowledge. Similarly, *Plato*, Timaeus 28. C. That alone could not [*084*] bring him to the dock. Rather, something else was at play in 411. Probably a political crime. As with Aristotle, Theophrastus, Socrates, Anaxagoras.

In Protagoras's practical approach, he deduces the impossibility of contradiction, for every view is possible. [340]He provided guidance on τὸν ήττον λότσον upsíττον votsîv – objective inquiry. One should be skilled in verbal debate, methodically accusing and defending. But this makes it easy to play tricks, to turn wrong into right. This is how antiquity understood it, in a negative sense. Yet Aristotle too teaches disputation on every subject in utram-que partem. (Topics). In any case, Protagoras's position is that of the whole of ancient rhetoric, which is initially formal in all cases – not so with Plato.[341] This puts an end to any moral influence. Regarding the grammatical aspects of the όρθο?vsta, regarding gender, endings, they would like to have things rationalised everywhere. Incredible feats have been achieved in this regard. Yet there is much valuable material here for a scientific grammar. Pr(otagoras) distinguishes tenses and moods first.

Gorgias of Leontinoi

Gorgias, c. 480–371,[342] slightly younger than Empedocles, highly esteemed in Sicily, and likely inspired to study rhetoric by Empedocles. He is said to have taken part in Empedocles' magical practices. There is a stylistic similarity in their metaphors. Gorgias borrowed a visual phrase from him, beginning with

340 *Seneca. R. Pr. N 180.* [DK 80 A 20 (Sen. Ep. 88, 43), A1 (51, 53)]

341 *Polzer, Protag. Studien 1875.* | *Sauppe, Protagoras.*
[Polzer, Aurelius: Protagorean Studies, Reichenberg 1875 | Sauppe, Hermann: Protagoras (Plato's Selected Dialogues, 2), Berlin [4] 1884]

342 *Foss de Gorgia Leontino.* 1826. | *Hermes 10. 455* | *Fleck. Year. 1856.* 40, 77. 93. | *Pale att. Bered. I.* | *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 84, 343*
[Foss, Henricus-Eduardus: ... commentatio, Halle 1828 | Vahlen, Johannes: On Aristotle (3), Hermes 10 (1876) 455–458 | Susemihl, Franz: On the Relationship between Gorgias and Empedocles, in: Jahrbücher für class. Philology 73 (1856) 40–42; ibid.: Gorgias and Attic Prose, ibid. 115 (1877) 793–799 | Blass, Friedrich: Attic Oratory, Vol. 1, Leipzig [2] 1887 | Diels: Gorgias and Empedocles, in: Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1884, 343–368]

physics and the Eleatics. Through them to eristic. [343] From the era of nihilism: 'either nothing at all or everything' (Arist. 'Xenophanes' [= Xenophanes of Melos, Gorgias]. Sext. Emp.) Plato and Aristotle do not mention the work, but this [*085*] is no proof against its authenticity. Isocr. vspì άντt%όσσωc 168 cf.
1) it is nothing. 2) if something were, it would be unknowable, 3) if it were knowable, it would be incommunicable.
1) If there were something and [sign, illegible] it were not – that is impossible. etc. Here a connection to the Eleatics. 2) it would be, 3) it would be and it would not be. All of this is impossible.
2) Being and thought do not coincide.
3) If it were recognisable, it could not be represented, for one cannot be both this and that.

Grote argued that it was a struggle against Eleatic Being, the thing-in-itself.[344] But that is not possible, for he owes a great deal to the Eleatics. Only in the third point—progress, which is linked to rhetoric—does this hold true. But the inquiry remains within the realm of scepticism. Every opinion is false; therefore, only probability is possible, which rhetoric achieves through form. Gorgias' Olympicus calls upon the Greeks to unity and to the Persian War. This is where Isocrates came in; Alexander's campaigns carried out the programme.

The style is fresh, poetic and rhythmic. It brings the rich imagery of poetry into prose, which is enchanting. Dichotomy is very popular. Applied to language too: sensory antitheses, parallel structures, etc. [345] A fragment in Dion. Hal. [DK 82 B 13] and the speeches attributed to Antiphon—that of Helena and another (Palamedes)—allow us to form a judgement. These are school speeches, practical models.

Around 407, he appeared in Athens at the head of a Leontine delegation. This laid the groundwork for the Sicilian expedition. In the light of the concept of the state, art appears divine; everyone wants to be able to do it too. This is the effect he has on Antiphon, Thucydides, Lysias, Aeschines, Agathon, and indeed even on Plato. He spoke in a mixture of Attic and Ionic; he is the one who first created Attic artistic prose. His art sweeps everything else aside. This is a testament [*086*] to his personal power. He must also have had a fine ear. Yet his arrival was not entirely beneficial. Eventually, Lysias and Demosthenes revived the purely Attic style, but Thucydides was corrupted.

Gorgias rejects violence, preferring instead to achieve everything through persuasion.[346] His pupil Proxenos learnt this from him.[347] Gorgias's influence is not immoral; it is ideal, but unrealistic.

343 *R. Pr. 187.* [DK 82]
344 *Grote 8, 503* History of Greece. [see page 58, Part 2, ch. 67]
345 *Spengel* συναcωψή τszνων.
[Spengel, Ludwig: Συναcωψή τszνων sive artium scriptores, Stuttgart 1828]
346 *Plato, Philebus 58a*
347 *Proxenos. Xen. Anab. 2, 6, 16*

Hippias of Elis

*Dümmler, *Academica*, pp. 239 and 252* [see note 281]. *Apelt,* Contributions to Greek Philosophy 369 [Apelt, Otto: Contributions to the History of Greek Philosophy, Leipzig 1891].[348] He is younger than Protagoras, 399 in appearance. He appears around 430 to be of middle age; he is a polymath, very vain, and skilled in all the arts. In the Hippias Minor, a virtuoso of memory; everything he possesses, he has achieved himself. He promotes scholarship by compiling the list of Olympic champions,[349] he writes poetry.[350] He was perhaps as versatile as Democritus and Aristotle.

Prodikos of Keos

Welcker sought to rescue him, but it goes too far. *Immisch* seeks to reconstruct him from the Axiochos. But the Axiochos is late.[351] Primarily a grammarian(.)

Critias.

411. 406 Exile. [352] 405 Returns to Athens, related to Plato, (dies) 403 in battle against Thrasybulus. A poet of political elegies, he praises the moderation of the Spartans and celebrates famous men; *Sisyphus* (Nauck fr. [2] 771) invented tragedy, not as Prodikos wished, out of gratitude, but out of wisdom, so as to have avengers even for hidden sins. The sun, as in Anaxagoras, a lump. The soul in the blood, as in Empedocles. Also in prose: vspì φίσεως Ηρωτος, άφορτσμοί etc. [*087*] Also mentions Politeiai. Plato holds him in some esteem, likely for personal reasons.

348 *Müller F. H. II.* | *Maehly Rhein. Mus. 14, 514.* | *Blaß* Bereds. I.
[see note 310, pp. 59–63 | Maehly, Johannes: The Sophist Hippias of Elis, in: Rh. Mus. 15 (1860) 514–535 and 16 (1861) 38–49 | Blaß see note 342]

349 *Plut. Num.* 1 [DK 86 B 3]

350 *Paus. V. 25* [DK 86 B 1]

351 *Spengel, *Suunatsõtē*. Welcker,* *Kl. Schrift.* II, 393–541; *Blaß,* *Bereds.* I; *Immisch,* *Philol. Stud. zu Plato*; *Wilamowitz, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.* 1895*
[Spengel see note 345 | Welcker, Friedrich Gottlieb: Prodikos, the Predecessor of Socrates, in: ibid.: Kl. Schr. zur gr. Litteraturgeschichte, vol. 2, Bonn 1845 | Blaß see note 342 | Immisch, Otto: Philological Studies on Plato. Issue 1: Axiochus, Leipzig 1896 | Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von: Review of Immisch, in: Gött. Gel. Anz. 157 (1895), 977–988; reprinted in: Kleine Schriften 3, Berlin 1969, 149–161]

352 *Hinrichs* on the matters of Theramenis and Critias | *Lallier* on the life of Critias, Paris 1877
[Hinrichs, Eduard Philipp: De Theramenis, Critiae et Thrasybuli commentatiuncula, Hamburg 1820 | Lallier, Roger: De Critiae tyranni vita ac scriptis, Paris 1875]

[Later Sophists]

The later Sophists appear to have achieved nothing,[353] Likymnios, Polos, Lycophron (who was also a poet), Alcidamas of Elea, an opponent of Isocrates; vspì σο-φτστων, certainly genuine. Protagoras(')'s pupil Antimoiros of Mende; Thrasymachus doubts the existence of the gods and defends the rights of the superhuman. ìvspβάλλοντsc λόцot – title after Protagoras. He was active as a rhetorician in Athens and acted as a moderating influence on Gorgias, the ц?νoc μ?σον. Theodoros of Cyrene, mathematician, and thus also a Sophist in Cyrene, which is why Aristippus found a foothold there. Antiphon, mathematics, [354] Άληθστα his principal work, an excerpt of this school found in Iamblichus' Protrepticus. Hippodamus the architect and politician, Phaleas the communist. (Arist. Polit. II 7 [1266 a 30]). *Diagoras* the dithyrambic poet, first celebrates the gods with great fervour, then, when a perjury goes unpunished, becomes the most ardent atheist, already mocking the clouds and birds; he operates entirely within the framework of the Sophists. Lawgiver, poet. άνονυμί-7οντsc λόцot is the title of his work, 'The Trumph'. He (dies) in Corinth, in exile. He becomes disillusioned with the gods, cf. Soph. fr. 103 [Nauck = 646 Pearson, Tyndareus in 'Αλήτ0c'], which was not an uncommon conflict at the time. But usually a mitigating solution is found; *Sophocles* is influenced by the Enlightenment, and generally he is harmonious and devout. Yet formally he pays his dues. The dialogue is conducted in an eristic manner. *Euripides*, 66 years his junior, is thoroughly modern, a pensive thinker; the chorus is merely a device, and even the fear of the gods is broken. Disharmonious tones (Troer. 887) are not absent. [355] The conclusion of The Trojan Women is noteworthy. He is a master of psychology; man as the measure of all things stands in the foreground. His characters are not ideal; the Furies are products of a guilt-ridden imagination, yet he understands the human heart wonderfully. So it is in Medea. It is [*088*] a development close to our own time.

Even in his external devices, Euripides remains firmly rooted in sophistry.[356] Eristic, rhetoric, particularly in *Hecuba*. The poet often steps out of character; everything his characters say is attributed to him. e.g. *Phoen. 504*, *Hipp. 612*.

353 *Rhein. Mus.* 16. Vahlen | *Blaß* Bereds. I | *Hermes* 10, 254 | *Wien. Acad. 1863.* 491 *Vahlen.*
[probably Vahlen, Johannes: The Sophist Lycophron, in: Rh. Mus. 21 (1866) 143–146 | Blaß see note 342 | Hirzel, Rudolf: A Orator Protarchos, in: Hermes 10 (1876) 254 ff. | Vahlen, Johannes: The rhetorician Alkidamas, in: Proceedings of the Vienna Academy, Phil.-Hist. Cl. 43 (1863) 491–528]

354 *Rhein. Mus. 9.* Bernays | *Sauppe* 1861 Göttingen Quaest. Antiphonteae. | *Blaß.* Antiphon | *Hermann* de Hippodamo Milesio 1841
[Bernays, Jacob: New Fragments of Heraclitus of Ephesus, in: Rh. Mus. 9 (1854) 241–269 | Sauppe, Hermann | Antiphon: Orationes et fragmenta ed. Friedrich Blaß, Leipzig 1871 | Hermann, Karl Friedrich: Disputatio de Hippod. Mil. ad Aristotelis Politicam II, 5, Marburg 1841]

355 *Rhein. Mus.* 42, 12. [Diels, see note 316, here on Eur. Tr. 884 ff.]

356 *Miller, Euripides* Rhetoricus 1887. Göttingen. [Miller, Thomas]

Euripides(') That was not his moral, but it was attributed to him.[357] (cf. Parmentier, Anaxagoras and Euripides, Brussels 1890? [Parmentier, Leon: Euripides and Anaxagoras, Paris 1893])

Henceforth, the individual is to rule with subjective scepticism, with λόμος instead of νόμος, ratio. Artistic prose takes the place of poetry, although it is practised formally. It seemed as though the end of Greek speculation, like that of the Greek state, was something [inevitable]. Yet that state endured for another 100 years, whilst in the intellectual sphere a far more brilliant restoration took place. The Pan-Hellenic idea found its first champion in Alexander. Thus a deep rift arises between state and philosophy.

The negative tendency overcomes

Socrates.

It is almost impossible to grasp him. Xenophon [358]and Plato, Aristotle, our main sources. [359]Schleiermacher sought to adopt an analytical approach. (Collected Works III[2].) Knowledge is Socrates's idea. *Krohn*, Socrates and Xenophon. 1874. Brilliant, but fruitful. *Ribbing*, Uppsala 1870, sober. *Archive for the History of Philosophy* II. 141, IV 370. *Chiapelli*, dubious success. Xenophon and Plato are said to have presented their own philosophy under the guise of Socrates. [360] *Joël*, the genuine one, and

Xenophon's Socrates I. Berlin. [Schleiermacher, Fr. D. E.: On the Value of Socrates as a Philosopher (1815), in: ibid.: Collected Works III, 2 (Berlin 1838) 287–308 | Krohn, August: Socrates and Xenophon, Halle/S. 1874 | Ribbing, Sigurd (see note 366) | Tocco, Felice: Review of Chiappelli, Il naturalismo di Socrate e le prime Nubi di Aristofane, Rome 1886, and of the same author: Ancora sui rapporti fra le Ecclesiazuse, Riv. Fil. 15 (1887) 343–351, in: Archiv für Gesch. d. Philos. 2 (1889) 141–143 | Chiappelli, Alessandro: Nuove ricerche sul naturalismo di Socrate, in: Archiv für History of Philosophy 4 (1891) 369–413 | Joël, Karl: ... I, Berlin 1893] Xenophon has from Philoso-

The notion that he had no idea is ahistorical. The Memorabilia are not stenographic reports, but rather the [*089*] echo of the entire Socratic literature. Xenophon is familiar with Plato and engages in polemics against him. In contrast, *Döring* has once again raised Xenophon's banner (*The Teachings of Socrates as a System of Social Reform*. [Döring, August: … Munich 1895]) The book is an analysis of Xenophon, and the title is apt for our times. Hirzel believed that Socratic literature was initially hi-

357 *Rhein. Mus.* 42, 12 | *Berlage* on Euripides 1888. Leiden.
[Diels: see note 316 | Berlage, Joannes: Commentatio de Euripide philosopho, Leiden 1888]

358 *Dissen on the* moral *philosophy* handed down in Xenophon, Göttingen 1812. | *Brochard*
[Dissen, Ludolf Georg: De ph. m. in Xenophontis de Socrate commentariis tradita, Göttingen 1812 | Brochard, Victor: Théories morales dans la philosophie grecque (1): Le caractère de Socrate, in: Revue des cours et conférences 1st year No. 5/6 (1893) 136–138]

359 *Hegel* Lectures II. 81 | *Fouillée* la phil. de Socr. | *Grote* 8. 552.
[Hegel (see p. 43) Vol. 18, p. 441 ff. | Fouillée, Alfred: ... , Vol. II, Paris 1874 | see p. 58, Part 2, ch. 68]

360 *Schanz* ed. Apology with the note
[Plato's Apology, newly edited for academic use by Martinus Schanz, Leipzig 1893]

historical in nature, only gradually becoming poetic-dialogical.[361] But Antisthenes(') and Plato's dialogues appear to have been written shortly after Socrates(') death, in any case before Xenophon. The latter is entirely dependent on the former.

Socrates, son of the sculptor Sophroniscus and the midwife Phainarete, is mentioned in tszvîtat; 399 (died), born c. 469, on 6(.) Thargelion, allegedly. His youth coincided with the heyday of Athens. He acquired his education rapidly; initially, he is said to have worked with the Three Graces. He loved mathematics and studied natural science – but we know nothing of his teachers. On the other hand, he would have read the writings available in Athens through booksellers (Xen. Mem.), and according to Xenophon, he read the works of earlier philosophers with his pupils, for example Heraclitus. This falls outside the scope of Xenophon's account and is likely to be genuine. He took part in three military campaigns: Potidaea, Delium, Amphipolis. Possible. The rescue of Alcibiades at Potidaea is possible; in 406 he was prytane, defended the generals, and was opposed to democracy. He was never a politician; he sought to improve himself and others; this vocation was divine to him, even if the oracle was a forgery.

Xanthippe saved by Zeller. His bigamy is highly doubtful; the story dates back to the 4th century.[362] He teaches without taking money, though he is poor. He wishes to educate the young; he remains in Athens, for the trees [*090*] teach him nothing. He observes people from all sides. All classes flock to him, Critias alongside Antisthenes, the slave's son. Meletus, Anytus and Lycon bring a 399 цραφή άσsβsíac against him;[363] the charge is void, yet he refuses to defend himself. Nothing is to be gained from the Apologies. Socrates' oligarchic and anti-democratic leanings will have been the truly serious matter. His μsцαλ0цορία brings him death. The burlesque of the Prytaneion, preserved in two versions, is likely a fable. He spends the 30 days until his execution with an unyielding demeanour. That is the ideal image of Socrates.

The basis of the charges lies in his theological views and his teaching of the young. But the underlying motive after 403 was undoubtedly political. Critias and others had been Socrates' pupils; Socrates is paying the price for this. His death is undoubtedly a judicial murder. But the conflict with the entire Greek order is there: the right of the individual over the state, the oracle within his breast, which transcends the state order, indeed even Delphi. Socrates is a victim of a conflict of world-historical proportions. And on the other hand, the Athenians of that time brought him to account merely out of hypocrisy. Everyone knew and recognised these ideas. Three-quarters of the people think this way – they say so openly. [364] One cannot justify the Athenians. And for Socrates, death was the victory of his school. He who dies thus proves that virtue alone gives strength. He is a hero of virtue [*091*]-

361 *Hirzel, *The Dialogue** [Hirzel, Rudolf: *The Dialogue*, two volumes, Leipzig 1895]

362 *Diels's* essay on Zeller | *Zeller*, Lectures and Essays I 57
[Diels, see note 205 | Zeller, Eduard: In Defence of Xanthippe, in: ibid.: Lectures and Treatises on Historical Subjects, Leipzig 1865, pp. 51–61]

363 *Diogenes II. 40*

364 *Grote's* History of Greece. [see page 58 (part 2, ch. 68)]

Humanity is not lacking. The Socrates of the *Phaedo* and the *Symposium* is eternal. Eros draws him towards association with the young: he loves beautiful youths without excess. This pederasty was not considered offensive in aristocratic circles at the time. Xenophon, however, finds it objectionable. Since the comedy remains silent, nothing improper has occurred. The Symposium depicts the Socratic circle in contrast to the Sophists, free love and paid love. Here there is a sharp contrast. Socrates was an Athenian through and through. But his indifference to appearances is modern and un-Greek. He is occasionally pedantic, unimaginative, philistine. But this stems from the unusual introversion (Plato, Symposium 220, C) of his nature, verging on hypnosis. The same applies to Kant, who presents his speculations by fixing his gaze on an object. This also includes the daimonion. It has been thought of as a hallucination, as the genius; rather, it is a warning voice that also drives Xenophon – following the pattern of the oracles. In Socrates, it is connected to the fact that the deity cares even for the smallest things. It is the inner voice of tact, not of conscience. (*Hermann*, Platonism I [see page 58]); except that this Daimonion acts like a revelation, a sudden flash of insight.[365] It does not function regularly. He observed himself even as a boy. The 'cvoth saitov' is his motto. Admittedly, this was un-Greek; it destroyed the beautiful harmony of the Hellenic world. Thus he exerted his influence through his person and his teaching. But since he wrote nothing, his disciples obscure him. The specific nature of the teaching shimmers in every hue. Reconstructing the teacher from his disciples is a hopeless task. We must also turn to the 'imperfect' Socratics. Plato is the only one who fully understands him. But he is too great to [*092*] report on him accurately. The others understand Socrates only superficially, such as the clumsy Xenophon, or they emphasise individual aspects superficially.

What sets Socrates apart is knowledge. The Sophists sought to
Socrates demands a comprehensive examination of the subject, culminating in a definition. He proceeds inductively, but almost exclusively in the ethical realm; in this respect, he is a Sophist. Plato, Gorgias 460. A prime example. Thus (Nic. Eth. 4. 13) knowledge and virtue coincide. Admittedly, ethics is still in its infancy here. Ignorance is often a serious matter. He seeks knowledge, wishes to philosophise together in dialogue, which he presents as the only legitimate form. Socrates investigates; he offers no dogma, no scepticism. He practises the art by exposing the knowledge of others and, through the art of maieutics, drawing out the thoughts from each individual. In doing so, Socrates presents himself as a friend and helper. Thus, the truth develops through mutual give and take; this is the eros of Socrates and his school.

Socrates is the first Attic philosopher. Attica's thin air and light soil give rise to that ironic, sharp manner – similar to that of the Berliners – which Socrates now employs.

365 *Hegel, History II, 476* [see page 43, vol. 18, p. 495]

He leaves nothing to chance. The Socratics take nothingness as their starting point. Plato's *Republic* I 337a is instructive in this regard. Xenophon is too conventional and inflexible for this finest flowering of the Attic spirit. He has almost none of it. Plato is quite different. Irony is characteristic of only a few eras and a few people. It is a fissure in the soul. One places oneself in the [*093*] state of innocence, abstracting from one's own idea. As development continues, the pupil realises that the teacher stands far higher after all, and so it occasionally turns malicious. This Socratic irony is also the main point of pedagogy. Everything depends on knowledge. But since all virtues consist therein, there is only one virtue: knowledge. Hence a common content: the Good. Socrates does not say what this is. Xenophon believes he understands the νόμοτ by this – which is certainly wrong. Or one might abstract from the consequences, and there the Good did not always appear to be the same. Most likely, the good is assessed according to its benefit to the whole. Xen. Mem. I 5, 6 has rendered this in a simplistic manner. Plato, Protag. 53 e, goes further: ώφ?λτμον τοῖc άνθρώνοτc.[366] Finally, as an effect on spiritual well-being, cf. also the Apology, Crito. In Xenophon, at least, there are echoes of this. But the highest questions of morality were certainly rarely fully elaborated by Socrates; he adapts himself to the individual.

Xenophon's *Love of Enemies* (Mem. 2. 5. 6. 35) denies this, but *Crito* 59a and *Republic* I 334b reject the *uauωc votsîv* under all circumstances. It is entirely unclear what Plato means here, and what Socrates means. The цνωθτ σαίτόν is the core of morality; here, sophistry is overcome at its very pinnacle. Socrates emphasises duties towards the state in any case. He calls for submission to the state. But this is handed down by men who wish to portray Socrates as a friend of the νόμοτ. If all virtue is knowledge, then the virtue of the ruler is all the more knowledge; only the knowledgeable may rule. Throughout all the transformations of the Greek state, this principle had never applied. The sole qualification of the ruler should be knowledge; now this is the [*094*] principle of the state. But in antiquity this was impossible. Socrates himself did not participate actively in government. Plato's Republic lies outside the ancient world. And so too is the honour of the βάναυσοτ un-ancient. Only he who has no work should be a citizen; he who has σζολή should live off the state, with slaves working for him. Against this, the βάναυσοc and scion of the Sophists raises an objection. Xenophon, *Oecon.* 4, 2 (cf. Mem. I) takes a somewhat different view.[367] Was slavery also contested? This was done, for example, by Alcidamas the Sophist (in the) 4th (century). Was it also done by Socrates? Plato, of course, abhors the very idea.

We do not know what the situation is regarding physics. But he deals with teleological views in Mem. I. 4 and elsewhere. The teleological

366 *Ribbing,* On the Relationship between the Xenophon and Plato Accounts of Socrates, 1870, Uppsala. [Ribbing, Sigurd: ... between the Xenophontic and Platonic accounts of the personality and teachings of Socrates]

367 *Hildebrand.* Xenophontis et Aristotelis de oeconomia doctrina. Marburg. [Hildebrand, Bruno: ... oeconomia publica doctrina illustratae (Progr.), II Marburg 1845]

Wisdom governs the world; the manifestation of this perfect being is nature. But it is probably correct that I 4 and IV 3 were previously attributed, for example, to Anaxagoras; Xenophon would have taken this from Antisthenes. For Socrates, it is not decisive. Antisthenes knew of only *one* god. It appears that, like the Phaedo, this is not genuinely Socratic.

In terms of form, Socrates differs from the dogmatically lecturing Sophists: dialogue and inquiry. We know little about the origins of this art form: Zeno, and then drama, seem to have been the leading influences. Buddha too, who lived shortly before Socrates, insists on the separation of knowledge and ignorance; he too asks questions. In terms of content, there is much in common with the Sophists: a turning away from nature, a break with morality, a religion of the past. But Socrates establishes a fruitful method of truth; he seeks to replace %ó(a with science, 0ντστήμ0. The individual judges
[*095*] according to eternal laws. Theologically, he is no sceptic; in matters of state
He demands people who have matured inwardly in the art of governance. Both sides wish to win over the youth, but the Sophists gather around them only those from whom they can extract money; Socrates, on the other hand, wins them over through the mind and spirit of the pupil, whose individual nature he addresses. Thus he urges the revolution towards reform, and creates a new faith that has a powerful effect, even on the so-called *imperfect Socratics*.

[Older Socratics]

The name is unfortunate, being derived one-sidedly from Plato. It would be better to call them the *older Socratics*. *K. Fr. Hermann*, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Göttingen 1849. [The philosophical position of the older Socratics and their schools, in: ibid.: Gesammelte Abhandlungen 227–255]

Among Socrates' young friends, *Xenophon*, son of Gryllos, stands out. His chronology is uncertain: he died after 357 and was born around 430. The *Memorabilia* contain anecdotes with an apologetic slant; the author understands little and, as a good philistine and student, has drawn primarily on literature. Gradually, he matures. The *Apology* is certainly genuine; in the Memorabilia we find parts incorporated as a second edition. Then the *Symposium*, also genuine; Xenophon corrects Plato, making it less open to criticism regarding pederasty. Finally, the marriage is celebrated. The Kípou vat%sía: instructions on training to be a general; not very Socratic, he presents his own experience, half-polemically against Antisthenes.

The *Oeconomicus*: A Practical Guide to Household Management. The naive charm of the portrayal must not deceive us as to its inner emptiness and unreliability. Similarly, *Aeschines'* (') Conversations (de Aeschinis Socraticis studiis *K. Fr. Herrmann*) [De Aischinis Socratici Reliquiis, Göttingen 1850].[368] After Socrates' (') (death) he with Dionysius, returns penniless, gives [*096*] lectures. Similarly also Xenophon.

368 *Phil. 51. 499* [Natorp, Paul: Aeschines' Aspasia, in: Philologus 51 (1892) 489–500]

We know nothing of Simmias and Kebes, only a víva(from Kebes – spurious. Euclid, Antisthenes and Aristippus alone are important.[369]

Euclid (Gellius 7.10) is the founder of *the Megarian School*. He is one of the earliest disciples, a follower of Eubulides, who opposed Aristotle, particularly Stilpon of Megara, and was a contemporary of *Diodorus Cronus.* The school influenced Plato; unfortunately, we know too little about these people. These disciples stood alongside the master and exerted influence. Schleiermacher has attributed a passage from the Sophists to the Megarians. [370] If we are right to do so, the system presents itself roughly as follows: Did the teaching of Parmenides appear immediately in Euclid? The Good = Parmenides' One; evil does not exist. For these eristicists, the multiplicity of things merges into One, and they reduce it to nothing through atomism. [371] Many 'fallacies' stem from them.

Diodorus's proofs are merely a rehash of Zeno. For him, there is only past motion. [372]

The uuptsíων (main conclusion): from the possible, not the impossible; hence, what has happened = what is happening. [373] This is intended to refute Aristotle's %ívaμtc.

Then Stilpo, also a Cynic;[374] in ethics, self-sufficiency is the highest good; the wise man needs no friends either. The school of *the Eretrians*, founded by Phaidon of Elis – he was a noble prisoner of war in Athens – diverges from the Megarians.[375] He writes 'Cobbler's Dialogues'. We know little of him apart from the dialogue of the same name.[376] His successor [*097*] Menedemos; his biography is by Antigonus of Carystus.

369 *Mallet*, History of the School of Megara. | *E. G. Encyclopaedia.* | *Prantl, History of Logic*
[Mallet, Charles Auguste: ... and the schools of Elis and Eretria, Paris 1845. | Steinhart, Karl Heinrich August: Euclid (of Megara), in: Ersch-Gruber, General Encyclopaedia of Sciences and Arts, 1, 39 (1843) 53–56 | Prantl see note 324 (1, 33)]

370 *Plato Sophist R. Pr. 224. note*(.) *a.*
[Soph. 246 b. – R. Pr. cites the following authorities: Schleiermacher, Plat. II 2^3 , 93; Deycks 39 ff., C. F. Hermann, Plat. Ph. I 269, 339; Stallbaum, Plat. Parm. 85 ff.; Brandis, Handb. II 1, 114; Zeller II 1^3 , 214; Prantl I 35; in contrast, H. Ritter in: Rheinisches Mus. II 3, 205 ff.; Deussen, De Plat. Sophista, Marburg 1869; Dittenberger in: Hermes 16 (1881) 343 ff. etc.]

371 *R. Pr. 225 N 226 ff* | *Prantl* p. 52
[Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 45 and Sextus adv. math. 10, 347 | Prantl, see note 324]

372 *R. Pr. 226 and 227 N. 229* [Sextus adv. math. 10, 85, 112, 113, 115–117]

373 *Berl. Acad. Sitz.* 82, Zeller.
[Zeller, Eduard: On the uuptsíων of the Megarian Diodorus, in: Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences 1882, 151–159]

374 *R. Pr. p. 228. N 232.* [Diog. Laert. 2, 112 ff. and 120; Plut. adv. Colot. 23 p. 1120]

375 *Preller Rh. Mus. 4* | *R. Pr. 231*
[Preller, Ludwig: Phaidon's Life and Writings, in: Rh. Mus. 4 (1846) 391–399 | Diog. Laert. 2, 105]

376 *Hermes 14. Wilamowitz*
[Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von: Phaidon of Elis, in: Hermes 14 (1879) 187–193, 476–477]

The *Cynics*

Antisthenes, son of a Thracian slave girl,[377] was the same age as Eucleides. He was a student of Gorgias; he is treated with contempt by Plato and Aristotle. He is very similar to Socrates: not particularly clever, but very strong-willed.[378] Unfortunately, we know too little for certain. One must reconstruct from Xenophon and Plato. Antisthenes wishes to present the true Socratic method; he emphasises practical moral virtue, which is αἰτάρυθς; one needs only will for it, everything else, including reading and writing, is useless. He reshapes his method; in doing so, he is a pupil of Gorgias(’). The ὅν in λότσος ¼ το τὶ ήν %0λων defines it.[379] The individual has a name, not a concept. There is no knowledge of it.[380] The individual name is merely a proper name. Now only the individual is real to him; Antisthenes descends to the individual.[381] There is fierce polemic between Plato and Antisthenes; Antisthenes’ ‘σάτων’. Plato opposes him in all his writings. Antisthenes could not form a false proposition, since he interprets only individual proper names.[382] Thus·science is abolished. Yet he writes four books on %ό(a and 0ντστήμ0.[383] Thus everything boils down to virtue. He who stands between virtue and wickedness is ά%τάφspον. Utterly worthless is η%ονή, ‘better mad than merry’. Or fr. p. 29. [Clem. Alex. Strom. 2, 107, 2–3] where he wishes to shoot Aphrodite! Hardening is a great good; Herodicus of Selymbria, the physician, had already proclaimed this. The νόνος is the best physically and mentally; Heracles is its patron saint.[384] He had ascended to Olympus! Virtue, then, with Socrates’ knowledge, and indeed knowledge that cannot be lost. Whoever attains virtue possesses it for im-
mer.[385] The wise man usually takes a firm stand against the [*098*] fool. The
Cynic is the only wise man, much like the Stoics later on. Above all, one must put this into practice. They are unshakeable in this regard. They stoop to the level of beggars, claiming the strata that had hitherto been entirely neglected. The emancipation of slaves is pursued here in practice. Happiness, after all, is independent of everything else. Marriage abolished; Diogenes advocates a community of wives and children. Social status was of no consequence – Menippus himself a slave.

377 *Winckelmann,* Antisthenis fragmenta. 1842. *Dümmler,* Antisthenica | ... Academica. 1889. | *Suse-mihl* Fleck. Jahrb. 1887.
[Antisth. Fragmenta ed. August Wilhelm Winckelmann, Zurich 1842 | Dümmler, Ferdinand: Antisthenica, Bonn (Diss.) 1882 | Dümmler, Ferdinand: Akademika (see note 281) | Susemihl, Franz: The Ideal State of Antisthenes and the Dialogues Archelaos, Kyros and Herakles, in: Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie 135 (1887) 207–214]

378 R. Pr. 216 ff [Diog. Laert. 6, 1–19]

379 *R. Pr. N 221 b.* [Arist. Met. 1024 b 32, 1043 b 23]

380 *Plato, Theaetetus 201.*

381 *Schol. Arist. B 46* | *R. Pr. 221, N 221 C.* [Reference unclear – 346? | Simpl. in Arist. Cat. Schol. 66 b 45 Br.]

382 *Arist. 1024. B 33.*

383 *R. Pr. N 217* [Diog. Laert. 6, 104. 2. 3; Stob. Flor. 29, 65; Diog. Laert. 6, 71]

384 *Xen. Symp. 4. 34*

385 *Plato Rep.* [where?]

There is no shortage of invective against the constitution,[386] he is the inventor of the κοσμο-νολίτ0c.

In religion, he distinguishes the one God, who is invisible, from the popular gods.[387] Commandments and sacrifices strike him as ridiculous. He leaves the poets be, but interprets them allegorically and morally. He reworks them, producing 12 treatises on Homer.[388] We would not consider such an uncomfortable morality to be effective were it not for the abundance of humour involved. Diogenes has become a representative here. This has an effect on the common man. The most quick-witted is Diogenes the Cynic of Sinope.[389] Göttling's treatise is completely off the mark.[390] He is the son of a money-changer and counterfeiter – presumably an interpretation of a bon mot.[391] Antisthenes agrees with him. Captured by pirates, he is sold to the Corinthian Xeniades, for whom he becomes a private tutor. [392] There he meets Dionysius the Younger and Alexander; he dies in 323 (?). The city and Sinope erect a monument to him and grant him a funeral of honour. His Politeia is entirely geared towards the fourth class, yet he is by no means uneducated: 7 tragedies, which ancient critics wrongly attributed to Diogenes. His witticisms live on. He holds his own writings in low esteem. [*099*]

His pupil, Crates of Thebes, writes dialogues and tragedies. For his sake, a wife and others are devoted to him, who, like him, give away their fortunes. Onesicritus in Alexander's entourage, but also the slave Monimus, who throws his master's money out of the window, and finally Menippus, the inventor of the Satires of Menippeus, who influenced Varro and Lucian.[393] Cynicism continues to spread, paving the way for Christianity.[394] Without the Cynics, it would never have triumphed.

The Cyrenaics [395]

Quite different were the pupils of Aristippus, the son of Aritadas, who were native to Cyrene, a city famous for its silphium.[396] Protagoras had already been to Cyrene; Aristippus, a disciple of Socrates, received his inspiration in Athens. He is up-

386 *Athens. 5, 220, D*

387 *R. Pr. 220.* | *Philod.* de pietate | *Cicero* de nat. d. 1, 13, 16
[Diog. Laert. 6, 63 | Philod. de piet. 7 = Doxographi 538 | Cic. de nat. deor. 1, 32]

388 *Diogenes Laertius II. 17* [correctly 6, 17 ff.]

389 *R. Pr. 217.* [Diog. Laert. 6, 20–81]

390 *Göttling* Collected Works I. 1851.
[Göttling, Carl Wilhelm: Diogenes the Cynic or the Philosophy of the Greek Proletariat, in: ibid.: Collected Essays on Classical Antiquity I, Halle 1851, 251–277]

391 *Zeit. Oest. Gymn. 29 Gomperz.*
[Gomperz, Theodor: A Lost Work by the Stoic Cleanthes, 'The State', and the Seven Tragedies of the Cynic Diogenes, in: Journal for Austrian Grammar Schools 29 (1878), 252–256]

392 *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 7, 313 Diels. [From the Life of the Cynic Diogenes, (1894) 313–316]

393 *Bernays, Lucian and the Cynics.* [Bernays, Jacob: Lucian and the Cynics, Berlin 1879]

394 *Lucian* Peregrinus.

395 *R. Pr. 207.* [Collection of sources on the Cyrenaics]

396 *Natorp, Democritus' Ethics 243.* [see page 46]

He was well-educated, independent and ó†tμaθής. He charged for his services, hence the title 'sophist'.[397] He travelled, spending time in Megara, in Asia Minor, in Corinth with Lais, and in the summer at a seaside resort on Aegina, where he was also present at Socrates' (') death. Finally, he dies in Cyrene, where he founded the school of the Hedonists. His daughter Arete and his son [correctly: grandson] Aristippus Metrodidaktos continue his work. Aristippus's Δτατρτβαί, as Bion also wrote them, and Horace owed them to him. Diogenes (Laertius) attributes writings to him; are they genuine? Xen. Mem. II. 1. 9. *Plato*, Philebus. Xenophon knew Aristippus' circle. He is an aristocrat, but a true bon vivant; ethics is the only legitimate philosophy, leading to η%ονή. All perceptions provide no grounds for judgements; here he takes Protagoras's position. [398] Hence Plato's polemic against sensualism. 1) Any theoretical pursuit that goes beyond sensation is useless; 2) our actions must concentrate on inner sensation. This consists in [*100*] a movement of the subject. If it is gentle, η%ονή; if it is rough, νόνος. In a state of rest, with weak sensation, ά0%ονία and άνονία. That is a breeze, this a storm, finally a lull.[399] Of these states, only the η%ονή is desirable. For all naturally desire pleasure and hate pain. This division corresponds to the Antisthenian doctrine, but in reverse. In the ά%τάφο-ρα they meet.[400] With Epicurus, pleasure arises from άταρα(ία; here, from pleasure itself, from active enjoyment. The present moment is the main thing; the means to pleasure are of no consequence.[401] But in practice, things turn out differently. *La Mettrie* is not at all the dreadful man he appears to be in the école de volupté. The text is bolder than the man.

Some pleasures come at the price of displeasure; one must bear this in mind ; lawlessness breeds displeasure and must therefore be avoided. The η%ονή is subordinate to reason; moreover, it is unwise to seek pleasure solely in sensual delights; rather, we need insight, and independence is the chief virtue of the wise. For we must rule over things in order to enjoy true pleasure. His way of life is the necessary corollary. He mocks the Cynics in their asceticism, τὸ ιρατσῖν ιαὶ μή ηττᾶν ταῖς η%ονaῖς; that is what matters, not the pretentiousness.[402] He later becomes the archetype of the lumpen: his relationship with Lais is well known, but Ηζω, άλλ' οίυ Ηζομαι. He flatters Dionysius, but here too with frankness. He always replies wittily; he can do anything, from wearing purple to donning a beggar's rags. The apparent laxity of his principles is offset by grace and refinement. Admittedly, his system is full of internal contradictions. [*101*]

397 Arist. 996 a. 32

398 *Plut. adv. Col.* 44, 2 [correctly 24, 2 = 1120 d]

399 *R. Pr. N 208. b.* | *Philebus p. 31*, 66 e. [Aristocles cited in Eusebius, Praep. Ev. 14, 18, 31 |]

400 *Sextus. adv. Math. 7, 199*

401 *Athen. 11, 544.* | *R. Pr. N 208, b. a.* [recte 12, 544 | Diog. Laert. 2, 85]

402 *Xen Mem. 1, 1, 1*

His successors, such as *Theodoros* in Athens at the end of the 4th century, θρα-σίτατος [Diog. Laert. 2, 116], concluded from Aristippus's teaching that laws were only for the rabble, and that he could do as he pleased. The wise man is self-sufficient; the fatherland is a great multitude of fools, and patriotism is foolishness. Individual pleasures and pains suffice for the wise man on occasion; the main thing is the mood. Finally, in Ptolemy's time, *Hegesias* relates all actions to the subject. To have unclouded pleasure almost never. Even the φρόν0στc does not help much. It is not worth striving for pleasure at all; rather, freedom from suffering is the goal. This quietism ends in despair; in the άνουαρτspων, the weary of life, he shows that the best thing is to leave this dreadful, miserable existence. He is called 'vστστθάνατος', because he thus drives people to their deaths. In some respects, incidentally, he agrees with Plato and the Cynics (instruction, not punishment; no one does evil voluntarily). The last in the line *of Annikeris*, around the same time, seeks to derive pleasure from intellectual communion, friendship, gratitude and patriotism. Sacrifices, too, in this regard, enhance the sí%atμονía. Insight must be coupled with practice. He attracts pupils, 'Avvtu?patot'. [403]

All these Socratics are highly one-sided. They inevitably revert to being Sophists. But they represent the extreme consequences and therefore have an effect on

Plato

He grows through his struggle with all these schools, which then [*102*] flourish anew in the Stoics and Epicureans. The former from the Megarians and Antisthenics, the latter from the Aristippians. But this is only possible when one cannot grasp Plato, cannot comprehend Aristotle.[404] These developments are also one-sided!

Grote, Plato 1865. *H. v. Stein* on the history of Platonism; *Steinhart*, Plato's Life. *Zeller*, II, 2. [Grote, George: Plato and the Other Companions of Socrates, III London [1] 1865, Index 1870 | Stein, Heinrich von: Seven Books on the History of Plato, Göttingen 1862–1875 | Steinhart, Karl: The Life of Plato, Leipzig 1873 | Zeller, Eduard: The Philosophy of the Greeks, Part 2, Section 1, Leipzig [4] 1889]

Bonitz Platonic Studies. *Susemihl* Genetic Development of Platonic Philosophy – outdated. *Überweg-Heinze* Outline. [Bonitz, Hermann: Plat. Studies, Berlin [2] 1875 | Susemihl, Franz: The Genetic , Vol. II, Leipzig 1855–1860 | Ueberweg, Friedrich; Heinze, Max: An Outline of the History of Philosophy, Vol. 1, Berlin [8] 1894]

Plato's writings are difficult to use because Plato is constantly arguing against both his predecessors and his successors. One must know precisely whom he is addressing. And the man clearly evolves before our eyes. He had a system, even if it has not been preserved for us.

403 Diog. II 96. *Cl. Strom. II 417*

404 *K. F. Hermann*, History and System of Platonic Philosophy, 1839. [Hermann, Karl Friedrich: ... Heidelberg 1839]

Socrates' philosophy is almost entirely ethical, based on dialectic. Plato eventually adds physics to logic and ethics. [405] The students take this for granted.

Dialectics or the theory of ideas.

Dialogue is the scientific form of education in knowledge. As such, it requires the method; it demands an understanding of the essence of things, the differentiae specificae. It establishes a comprehensive casuistry, where possible. It draws upon as much as possible. In doing so, it proceeds empirically, but completeness is lacking in Socrates.[406] And Plato adds the hypothetical development of concepts. Every concept is traced through its positive and negative consequences, right up to the Idea,[407] now synthesis – this stems from the eristic of the Eleatics – [*103*] the individual divisions reconstructed. From the ὅρος to the individu-um.[408] This is the test of the example. One must choose divisions as simple as possible, such as the Eleatic dichotomy. Only this is fully clear. The trichotomy entangles [reading uncertain] things further. A treasure trove of such διαιρέσεις existed; we find traces of it in *Laertius*, *Diogenes Laertius*, and in the introductions and definitions in *K. Fr.* Hermann's Plato, Vol. 6 [Platonis Dialogi, vol. 6: Epistulae, Definitio-nes etc. ex rec. Caroli Friderici Hermanni, Leipzig 1853, ² 1873]. This essentially goes back to the Academy, as does Aristotle's Topics.

We do not know Plato's logic. He must have developed the main parts, but not in his writings, for he does not want a dogma. He is familiar with the law of contradiction and the principle of sufficient reason, the fundamental laws of syntax. Language is not fixed but fluid.[409] The centre of dialectics is the theory of ideas that emerged from Eleaticism. He had become acquainted with it through the Megarians. Between truth and error lies the δόξα, a concept relating to the sensory world, whereas ὀντστήμ0 pertains to the spiritual realm.[410] The unconditional truth of the world of ideas has been demonstrated. Socratic inspiration combined with Eleatic perspectives. The first proof derives from the distinction between δόξα and ὀντστήμ0; the second combines Heraclitus and the Eleatics. From the notion that every thing is imperfect, the sensory world an intermediate state, τὸ αἰτόυαλον lives exalted above all this:[411] that which never is and always becomes (sensory world) and that which never becomes and always is (world of ideas). The ideas are the archetypes, of which our world is a reflection; beauty is that which is beautiful

405 *Sext.* [adv. math.] *7, 16*
406 *Parm. 135. C*
407 *Meno 86b*
408 *Phaedrus 277. b*
409 *Prantl* I, 59. [see note 324]
410 *Rep. V 477. B*
411 *Tim. 27. D* [Reference unclear – τὸ ὂν ἀσί ?]

and has a share in the good.[412] *Aristotle* A cites the λόμοτ [*104*] 0u των 0ντστ0μων,[413] the second proof shows that τὸ Υν 0νὶ νολλων. 3) νοsῖν τὶ φθαπ?ντων, i.e. even if the phenomena perish, the general concept remains. In doing so, he overlooks the influence of the Eleatics, who are, after all, the indirect originators of the whole. The Ideas are the Socratic concepts translated into the metaphysical realm. They are called ί%?a, si%oc, μορφή. ί%?a already means 'atom' in Democritus. Plato made them the t(erminus) t(echnicus), so that Aristotle uses si%oc for his Idea. The concept is ζωρτστός, i.e. otherworldly. Aristotle calls his si%0 immanent. The Ideas are a τόνος νο0τός, merely λόμω θsωρ0ταί, to use Democritus's words. He expresses this beautifully at the beginning of Book 7 of the Republic.

Ideas have been understood as subjective thoughts of reason; Plato himself refuted this in the *Parmenides*. They are real substances, but without the being of Parmenides—not rigid or immobile. They enter into a community, the *υοτνωνία* of concepts. Man is a creature, etc. The idea of man then unites with that of the creature, etc. Every concept can unite with many, but also separate from them; thus there are many beings – a conclusion drawn entirely in the Socratic manner from the judgement. In the Phaedo, the doctrine of unity and multiplicity is developed practically; mathematics comes increasingly to the fore, as in the Meno and the Timaeus. Thus Plato comes to rethink his system mathematically. This exuberance is repugnant to Aristotle. [414] Aristotle, Metaphysics M and N cf. (Cic.) Ac. 1, 6. For clarity: the ideal numbers, distinguished by kind and magnitude, are to be distinguished from ordinary numbers [*105*] and are equivalent to the Ideas. The number is universally valid. It is an analogy to the moral world, but not an identity, as is often mistakenly assumed. The One and the Many are united in the Ideas. The world of Ideas contains both the One and the Many. The Eleatics denied motion. Since Plato posited immobility—as an effect necessitated by the Ideas—he established %ίναμτc.[415] The Idea is power. The Sophist, however, has been regarded as spurious – which is absurd. The active cause and τ?λος (Phaedrus 23c [reference?]) is also the Idea. It amounts to the same thing. The separation and unity of the Idea: starting from rigid ontology, Plato is taken in by the physicists; he seeks to accommodate them, and becoming comes to the fore. The concept of power always remains unclear, because mathematics interferes with it here; but that antinomy between the One and the Many is fruitful.[416] There are an indefinite number of Ideas, as many as there are things, including non-being and vice.[417] The

412 *The Sophist*, *Timaeus*, *The Republic*, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*.

413 *A. 6* [987 b 8 etc.]

414 *Trendelenburg*, Friedrich Adolf: Plato's Doctrine of Ideas and Numbers, Explained by Aristotle [Trendelenburg, Friedrich Adolf: …, Leipzig 1826]

415 *Sophist 247* [e]

416 *Parmenides 103* [Number? Reference?]

417 *Rep. 5, 565 A* [number unclear; 465 a also yields no clear reference]

was dangerous. And in the end he excluded works of art, since there was nothing in common there. [418]

A hierarchy is necessary in the union of unity and multiplicity; he hints at a system without actually providing one.[419] The highest concepts are: quantity, quality, relation, action and suffering – Aristotle's ten categories. The crowning glory of the edifice is the idea of the Good, the eternal source of all being and becoming. Alongside this, in the Timaeus, 'God'. But how could this not share in the Ideas? [420] In his lecture on the Good, he equated the Good with God. Like all ancient thinkers, he brushes aside theological concerns. God the Creator; he thus moves on to physics (.) [*106*]

Physics

Here he takes his cue from the Heracliteans. The Idea of Greatness can never be both great and small; contradictions exist only in sensible things.[421] Every being is also a non-being, as with Heraclitus. Eternal non-being stands opposed to the Idea, the substance, the matter, which Aristotle calls ὕλ0. Plato uses σωμα in a similar way; this is that which is perceptible to the senses.[422] Idea, image of the idea, the substrate from which it is created; the malleable wax in which things are created according to the ideas. [423] Matter, %s(aμ?v0, zωpa, formlessly encompasses every form. In the Colleg vspì τ'άμαθοî he calls it μ?μα uaì μtupóv, Pythagorean 'infinite'.[424] Only the Ideas within fixed bounds, as with Parmenides. Is matter corporeal?

Bonitz,[425] Brandis and Überweg say yes; Zeller, Böckh and Schleiermacher say no. *Timaeus* requires visible matter, but only for the sake of mythical expression.[426] For in his structure, matter—which is purely negative, that is, space—cannot be sensed.[427] It is merely materiality, very close to the atomists. Leucippus is similar, but Plato elaborates on the individual in a more Pythagorean manner:

418 *Arist. Λ 3, 1070 A 13*

419 *Trendelenburg*, Historical *Contributions to* Philosophy I, p. 205
[Trendelenburg, Fr. Adolf: Histor. Beitr. z. Ph., Vol. I: History of the Doctrine of Categories, Berlin 1846, pp. 205–209 on Plato]

420 *Stumpf*, 1869: The Relationship between the Platonic God and the Idea of the Good. [Stumpf, Carl: The Vh (Diss.)]

421 *Phaedo 102. d*

422 *Plato, Sophist* [246 a, b]

423 *Timaeus 28 d* | *Timaeus 48 e* [number does not exist, unclear | 48 e ff. on prime matter]

424 *Arist. Met. 987. b. 20*

425 *Bonitz*, Disputationes Platonicae. 65
[Bonitz, Hermann: Disp. Plat. duae, Dresden 1837]

426 *Rhein. Mus. 9. 62*
[Ueberweg, Franz: On the Platonic World Soul, in: Rh. Mus. 9 (1854), 37–84; p. 62 on the problem of materiality]

427 *Arist. Phys. 3. 4*

filling out geometric surfaces. Clearly, Plato did not arrive at the idea of non-being through this line of thought. He discovers it through the subtraction of two concepts, but it remains an unknown factor. In this, the sensory world retains a reality through the world of ideas. These worlds are metaphysically distinct; it is the relationship between object and shadow; matter serves only the purpose [*107*] of being a vessel for these images. In the cave, a fire casts the shadows. But how does this work in Plato's system? A satisfactory answer is lacking. God, creating the Good without cause, found matter in the process. [428] And that is, of course, through the ἀνάτ. Aristotle posits the Infinite as the originator [reading uncertain] of numbers – but here too there is a chasm from which all dualism suffers. Plato seeks to fill it through the World Soul. That is an old concept. The perfect world must have a World Soul preceding individual creation.[429] Aristotle has misunderstood the myth. The soul stands in the world, mediating between above and below. From it come numbers, intervals, celestial bodies. Mathematics occupies the same place in Plato as it does in Pythagoras. It mediates. After 440, the Pythagoreans were scattered throughout the world, unless, like Archytas, they retained a political role. In Thebes, a colony, as it were: Kebes, Simmias, Philolaos. The Socratics must have become acquainted with this school at an early stage. Plato must have read Philolaus's book *Báuzat* or *Nspì Físsoc*. The title, of course, came later. Plato is said to have bought it in Sicily – a childish notion. And he is said to have copied *Timaeus* from it. But it is true that *Timaeus* is dependent on Philolaus.

Schaarschmidt has declared Philolaos's work [430]to be spurious [Schaarschmidt, Carl: Die angebliche Schriftstellerei des Ph., Bonn 1864]. The fragments vspì †uzής are spurious; the others are genuine, despite Tannery's views. [431] The concept of 'harmony', the source of knowledge and understanding, originates with Philolaos. His cosmology: 10 divine bodies, Olympus, the cosmos of the planets – the Moon, the sublunary world (oűpavoc). σοφία: knowledge of heavenly things, άρστ0: of human things. In the myth of Phaedrus, something quite similar. The extra-celestial place is to be understood figuratively, as is the Ἑστία. Nor is there any lack of Orphic elements in Plato: Timaeus 37b also contains a reminiscence. The %ó(a belongs to the imperfect [*108*]circle of the planets. The precision of mathematics surprises the Pythagoreans; fr. 6 Phil(olaos) Böckh [DK 44 B 11 p. 412, 9 ff.] maintains that there is no error in numbers. And error is confined to the infinite. Applying mathematics to the gods,[432] the (angles) of the ... corner are assigned to the gods. 1 = (point), 2 = line, etc. He distinguishes: Head – Reason, Heart – Soul, Navel – Germination, Genitals – Procreation. Plato has three of these. (*Böckh 160* [Boeckh, August: Philolaus of

428 *Tim. 47. e* [ss.]
429 *Tim. 35 a*
430 *Zeller Hermes 10*
[Zeller, Eduard: Aristotle and Philolaus, in: Hermes 10 (1876), 178–192]
431 *R. Pr. N 52*, N 56. [DK 44 B 2, B 6]
432 *Phaedrus 247a*

[Pythagoreers Lehren, Berlin 1819] on the five elements—earth, water, fire, air—and then that which sustains the spheres, à tàc σφαίρac òλuάc [DK 44 B 12].()) Some think of a celestial framework, others of the ether. Earth a cube, water an icosahedron, the òλuάc the %ώ%sua-eder to [reading uncertain].[433] Plato is familiar with the ν?μντον, but he excludes it. This very fact speaks for its authenticity. Aristotle, along with Philip of Opus, conceived of the fifth element as the aether and cherished it. The 'quinta essentia'. σωμα σᾶμα †uzής here too. But he discusses the morality of suicide, which is modern. Suicide is rejected, since we are one of God's possessions.

Plato rejects a divine science of the physical world. The %0μtoup-μός forms the World Soul, the four elements, and from these arise the cosmos, the celestial bodies as measures of time, and living beings. The great dispute centres on the temporal beginning of the world. [434]Time begins with the world. The Neoplatonists interpreted all this in mythic terms. Attempts are made to reconcile this with Aristotle, who teaches the eternity of the doctrine [presumably: of the soul]. This is politically understandable. Added to this is the contrast with Christianity: Xenocrates, Plato's second successor, already seeks to deny the creation of the world. It is said to have come into being %t%aσuαλίac záptv, in order to demonstrate the structure.[435] Aristotle rejects this [*109*]. And yet Zeller did not follow Aristotle. Plato speaks of the 'pre-worldly', so he did not teach a 'beginning of the world'. That proves nothing. But in the same work he also teaches the timelessness of the world soul. That proves little. Plato changed his mind. The early Plato assumed the emergence of the sensory world. Only the Ideas are eternal. Otherwise, there would be no difference between Ideas and the cosmos. The world is the realm of time, separated from the Ideas by a divide. What lies in between is not entirely clear. The doctrine of the end of the world is added to this. It is supposed to be natural, but through the goodness of God it does not come to pass.

The elements come into being first, earth and fire, with air and what-
He mediates this. Now *ordered*, hence στοτzsîa, because they are members of a στοîzoc. He does not count the dodecahedron among the elements; it is the fundamental framework for the heavens. He constructs the elements from surfaces, and these in turn from (triangles). The idea that the structures of the parts play a major role in the composition of bodies is fruitful; our entire structural chemistry is based on this. It is a brilliant intuition, naturally not knowledge. Through this decomposition of the elements, he arrives at spatial surfaces. For him, the latter are indivisible surfaces; the conception is thoroughly immaterial, formal. The bodies are constructed by the compression of the spheres, but the curvature exerts an incommensurable pressure, thereby setting the elements in motion and throwing them into disarray. The void is thus expelled. But with linear figures, one can never eliminate the curvature—

433 *Tim. 85 c*

434 *Tim. 37. d*

435 *Arist. On the Heavens* I. 10. [280 a 1]

fill. Hippocrates had never proved this. And the void? [436] How is this to be avoided? Plato said nothing here. The earthly is simply irrational. [*110*]

The world at the centre, not as Heraclides Ponticus has the small stars circling the sun. [437] Plato is hard to grasp, myths everywhere. The stars created by the gods. Precise mathematical motion leads to this. The whole world is an αίτο7ωον, the υόσμοc the best of all worlds, as in Leibniz. If the υόσμοc calls itself never-ageing, one need not understand this in Aristotle's sense. Continued existence is a gift of God's grace.

In the myth of Timaeus, the gods who have come into being created mankind and the mortal soul. But the Demiurge himself creates the *immortal* soul. At the beginning, every soul is on a star; whoever overcomes sensuality becomes a soul again, otherwise there is a degrading rebirth, first as a woman, then as an animal. The rite of purification also originates from the Orphics; Republic 10 and the Phaedrus are also familiar with it. Here the Last Judgement (cf. Gorgias at the end) is added. Time and again, the immortality of the soul is depicted mythically; in the Phaedo, it is also presented differently. [438] Immortality is individual. Idea-like things also exist outside of the Ideas, and the nature of the evidence is insufficient. The idea of retribution and that of recollection converge here. He teaches that every soul pre-exists individually. The doctrine of recollection is now the foundation of his entire system. All knowledge is merely recollection. And after death, retribution. Though the good bear their reward within themselves, the wicked must [*111*] also be punished externally. He also took the transmigration of souls seriously. And the descent into the animal body is difficult for him: the animal soul is so clouded. He accepts this, however, because it contains the metaphor that man sinks down to the level of an animal as άυόλαστοc. Often enough the poet comes to the fore. But one can make a distinction to some extent. Hegel went too far when he wanted to do away with the whole of eschatology.

The soul is divided into two parts: mortal – immortal. But the mortal part into θυμός – noble passions, without reason – (, and) 0ντθυμία – sensual desire. The λοιτστtυόν resides in the head and is absent in animals; plants possess only 0ντθυμία. The idea is incorporeal; one must assume a transition between 0ντ-θυμία and λοιτστtυόν, which has a part in both, the θυμός. Plato has not fully developed this doctrine here either. 0ντστήμ0 and %ό(a belong only to the λοιτστtυόν. The forms of knowledge have nothing to do with the division of the soul.

436 *Tim. 60. e*

437 *Martin, *Études sur le Timée*.* 1891 | *Boeckh.* Studies on Plato's Cosmic System. [Martin, Thomas Henri: *Études sur le Timée de Platon*, Paris 1841 | Boeckh, August: *Unterss. ... System of Plato, Berlin 1852]

438 *Teichmüller* Studies
[Teichmüller, Gustav: Studies on the History of Concepts, Berlin 1874, therein: Aristotle on Immortality, pp. 339–378]

Plato was also the first (Rep. 10. 617 e) to address free will. The pre-selection of everything else, not of the moral, takes place during pre-existence. But no one is evil of their own free will! Folly and ignorance are the maladies of the soul to which all vices are attributed.

This brings us to

ethics

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Ethics rests on Socrates, but Plato's metaphysics exerts a powerful influence. It breaks down into 1) What is the highest good? 2) How does the individual stand? 3) How does the state stand? The doctrine of goods, the doctrine of virtue, the doctrine of the state. – The good is that which serves happiness. This is the possession of the good; the good is what all strive for.

To grasp the Ideas in their beauty, man must be as ascetic and Pythagorean as possible.

Or they can be understood as being immanent, as an integral part of matter. Hence the postulate that man must live in harmony. [*112*] Earth and heaven both demand their due in equal measure. In the Theaetetus of that Orphic Plato, one flees from the world through godlikeness as %íuatoc and ὅστοc μστὰ φρονήσωc. Earthly life is merely a preparation for the next, until the ἀνόλυστc comes. The philosophical life is an uáθαρστc. This teaching is very similar to that of Empedocles and the Orphics. σωμα σήμα. Had Plato stopped there, he would have become an ascetic. But he was too much of a Greek. He also held a symposium. Sensual additions temper his asceticism; thus Plato's ethics have become beautiful and harmonious. Plato works his way towards harmony: the visible image of the Idea must therefore offer a balance between the sensual and the spiritual. This is clear in the Philebus. The apathy of the Cynics overlooks the fact that we orient ourselves on our earth by means of %ó(a; art, and even sensual pleasure, are acknowledged, albeit reluctantly. Thus a fivefold table of the highest goods. I Participation in the Ideas, Moderation. II Training in harmony. 3) The workings of reason. 4) Art. 5) Sensual pleasure. All five are cultivated, but in varying degrees. He had not yet arrived at this humane conception even in the Symposium. The Phaedrus is, of course, genuine; it agrees with the almost contemporary Timaeus. Plato sees that the descended Idea must also be grasped. And all of Plato's successors—Aristotle, Speusippus and Xenocrates—stand on this ground.

What is virtue? The just order; the health of the soul. It is to be preferred to sickness. Where reason [*113*] reigns, there is health. The virtuous person is at peace within themselves; the unjust person is at odds with themselves. Reward and punishment are necessary: for they are meant to improve those who can be saved and to deter the others. So in this life as in the next. He is a supporter of the death penalty and (of) eternal damnation. This (Gorg. 525 B. νόμοt 9, 851, E [recte 854 e]) has had a powerful effect on Christianity. Yet these are merely accidents of virtue (and vice), not the impulse towards them. In this, the view of the Church Fathers is very

more crude. Socrates, as a plebeian, had democratised virtue. Plato, who initially held the same view, arrives at a dualism. He regards the %ó(a as legitimate, and also considers this lower virtue—which is based on practice—to be good,[439] as a preliminary stage to the higher one. The foundation of all virtue is disposition: 1) the most basic, that of obedience; 2) those who, in addition, are particularly disposed, for example, to bravery; 3) those predisposed to φιλοσοφία. (cf. Plato's three classes). [440]Unlike Socrates, Plato thought in aristocratic terms. People are too diverse; instruction alone is not enough, as with Socrates. Ordinary virtue is a preliminary stage to philosophy. And virtue itself is not one single thing.[441] If the three parts of the soul perform their functions harmoniously, reason prevails; the θυμός upholds reason even in battle; finally, the 0vtθίμ0στc displays its virtue in the σωφροσίν0. But as a regulatory principle to balance the three parts, the %tuato-σίν0. Plato is a proponent of the division of labour. Everyone should τὸ Fautoῖ νράττstv. But he does not develop a duty-based morality from this. Plato maintains that every morally educated person must know what they have to do. Even towards enemies, one should

[*114*] one must not do evil. Here we have moved beyond the scope of the ancient view; it is a Christian standpoint, but it has not gone so far as to advocate love for one's enemies. And how, indeed, is one to love or acknowledge evil in this way?

He also teaches that deliberate deception of the masses is permissible – if higher imperatives demand it. For example, mythology should be taught to young people. But the state may also deceive when it comes to the distribution of women and landless people. The Greek sees through this. And though he theoretically condemns pederasty, he judges it leniently. [442] He also thinks in a Greek manner regarding marriage. He considers it important only as a means of producing offspring. With regard to manual labour and the craftsmen, he is thoroughly aristocratic, taking a step back from Socrates. Hellenes are not to be slaves; otherwise, it makes no difference—the state has nothing to do with this rabble, nor with the Demiurge. And the ruler may also banish people to this class as a punishment.

What is the highest good for the state? The life of the individual is worthless if it does not stand in relation to the νόλtc. Plato was too subjective, like the Sophists, to be wholly absorbed by it. For Plato, however, the state is a means of education. The omnipotence of the state is necessary. Admittedly, Antisthenes's 'state of nature' is, to him, a state of swine. The purpose of the state is the happiness of the whole. Virtue is based on knowledge, which must therefore be cultivated by the state. Freedom, peace, power – all worthless; wisdom is needed, and philosophy shows the way. The ruler must be a philosopher. Admittedly, the prospects for this are slim. He therefore turns to the school. [*115*]

We have three classes: 1) the άρzόμsvot, 2) the φίλausc, 3) the φίλausc τ?-λstot [cf. Pol. 414a]. 1) comprises agriculture and trade, 3) comprises only the government, 2) comprises the

439 *Phaedo. 82a*
440 *Rep. II 415* [recte 3, 415 ff.]
441 *Rep. 4, 16* 442. [441 d – 442 d]
442 *Phaedrus p. 656 b.* [recte 256 b]

The arms trade. The second and third estates are dependent on the first. The 'apzομsvot' must provide for the others. Zeller argues that this division is a vivid work of art, based entirely on abstraction. Ranke, *World History* I[2] 80, points out that these conditions were fully realised in the Middle Ages. And we too have something similar today. The nobility, the civil service, the middle class. And the third estate still supports the other two today. Christianity and Germanic culture have brought Plato's ideas to power, for example in the Papacy. [443]

Social conditions are to be completely overhauled (Rep. 6, 501a). To start from scratch. Procreation under state control, women living in communal arrangements. What he writes on the subject is quite eccentric, reminiscent of the Cynics. Immediately after birth, children are taken away from their parents. The children are assigned to one of the classes according to their aptitude. For the lowest class, nothing at all happens – they are of no consequence. For the warriors, music and gymnastics suffice. Music, however, under police censorship, with bad poetry also placed on the Index: Homer and tragedy foremost. He has not gone far enough here. But the medieval view is akin to Plato's here too. What is admirable about Plato is that he would rather banish Homer than re-translate him ethically. For the first class, there is still science, into which they are gradually introduced: as children they learn mathematics through play; from the age of 20 they move on to more advanced mathematics; from the age of 50 they may participate in government. Private property is permitted only in the highest class. (Rep. V 576. d [incorrect reference, cf. rather c. 464 d]). Women are emancipated in the two higher [*116*] classes. He wishes to set women free like the Spartan women. For in Athens, women are entirely confined to the gynaikonitis, in a harem-like manner. Women are to take part in gymnastics. One must not take offence at their nudity; they will possess virtue instead of clothing. Women are to form the rearguard in war – to exert their influence through their numbers.

Plato's state is not a chimera without any practical purpose.[444] That would be nonsensical. Plato was at the heart of political life; after all, he wanted to realise his state in Sicily. The oligarchic party in Athens had always been of a Spartan disposition, and it is from there that Plato draws his model. Here we have three classes, here communism, here the emancipation of women. In Sparta, male love; the Spartan athletes also exercised in light tunics. Nowhere was music so thoroughly developed as in Sparta for political purposes – cf. the uataστάσstc. Even the expulsion of poets there was modelled on the abandonment of weak children. These are building blocks, but without the architect. What Pythagoras created in Croton on the basis of the Doric constitution is the direct model: an aristocratic-philosophical idea unites an entire confederacy of states. Gymnastics, music, mathematics as a link between earth and heaven, the emancipation of women, where Theano then worked uotvà τà των φίλων – collective wealth. Plato is

443 *Baur,* 'The Christian Element in Platonism'. 1837. Tübinger Zeitschr. für Theol.
[Baur, Ferdinand Christian: *Das Chr. d. Pl. oder Sokrates und Christus*, Tübingen 1837 (from: *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*)]

444 *Hegel, History of Philosophy II 240* [see page 43, vol. 19, p. 109 ff.]

Quite a bit of Pythagoreanism. Archytas the undefeated, upright mathematician is the ideal of a φίλος τόλστος. Only a slight kinship with Protagoras, despite Aristoxenus. But Phaleas was the first communist long before Plato; Antisthenes, too, may have foreshadowed certain ideas.

According to Aristotle, Plato was the first to introduce the idea of female domination [*117*]. Aristophanes, however, parodied this in *The Assemblywomen*, 392–398(,) [445].Zeller has denied this. *Eccl.* 636. *Rep. V* 361 [recte 461 d]. cf. also the legal regulation of sexual intercourse. The question of whether Plato is present here depends on [sic] the question of how the state came into being. However, the idea might already have been anticipated by the Sophists [sic]. Herodotus approves (IV 104. Plato Rep. V 464) of communal marriage, cf. also Euripides' (') Protisilaos fragment [653 Nauck/Snell = Clem. Al. Strom. 6, 2, 24, 5]. Now, sophist literature consists primarily of oral lectures. Thus Aristotle was first able to find the theory in writing in Plato, who for his part was merely following a sophist's suggestion. The elaboration, however, belongs to Plato. And there is much that is transcendental in it – but the 'state' is entirely un-Greek; it anticipates the tasks of history.[446] It was not merely a prophetic insight on Plato's part; the spoken word has an effect. Plato has implanted his ideas; the patres read him; Augustine's *De civitate Dei* is entirely dependent on them. The secret of prophecy is twofold: the spoken intuition comes true. –

In his later years, Plato [attempted] to rework *The Republic* into a more accessible form, supposedly for Magnesia in Crete – but that is not a real entity.[447] These are the *Votum ed. Philipp v. Opus*. Here, ordinary virtue is extolled, only the second and third classes – slaves, foreigners; the first is omitted. And now a detailed body of laws. The constitution is constructed from the existing ones. 37 νομοφίλαusc hold the executive power of jurisdiction; there is much good in this, and Plato has conducted significant studies. βουλή: representative body; %outμασία, sίθυμία; the 0uuλ0σία has almost no significance. The Minister of Culture, not like today's Minister of Finance, stands at the head. The συλ-λοцός vuutsptvός, chosen citizens, φίλausc. It is the Council that possesses the highest wisdom. Admittedly, this [*118*] passage is not entirely certain. Bruns believes it to be a fragment not belonging to the νόμοt – quite possible.

No community of property, but 5040 equal shares; colonies and a ban on having children ensure no increase in population. Marriage is not communist. But marriage and the age of marriage are protected by law. As early as the 4th year (7,739 E [recte 793 e ff.]), children are in nurseries, then taken in by the state until

445 *Acta Lipsiensa I Goetz*
[Götz, Georg: De temporibus Ecclesiazuson Aristophanis (Diss.), in: Acta societatis philologae Lipsiensis II 2 (1874) 333–365]

446 *Zeller's treatise [2] p. 68.*
[Zeller, Eduard: The Platonic State and its Significance for Later Times, in: ibid.: Lectures and Treatises on Historical Subjects, Leipzig 1865, 62–81]

447 *O. Kern*: The Founding of Magnesia. [Kern, Otto: The History of the Founding of Magnesia on the Maiandros. A New Document, Berlin 1894]

On mathematics. Women are free and participate in everything. A ban on travel and restrictions on tourism prevent infection from outside.

Plato remains an idealist at heart, yet he seeks to mediate. In one respect alone has he become more extreme. The Pythagoreans have gained the upper hand over him; mathematics (5, 547a [reference unclear, cf. Nomoi 818c]) is good not only for life, but for religion, for the understanding of the cosmos. The sheer volume of arithmetical enumerations is overwhelming. Theological mysticism imposes itself; the discourse is hieratic, repulsive. The entire apparatus of auspices, the entire solemn cult, the foundation of the temple—difficult, important. Plato finds himself trapped here. Religion dispenses the highest insight; it is an element that sustains the state. And Plato's age has its influence in this.

Religion in Plato is entirely philosophical. He is concerned with the eternal Being, the centre of existence and knowledge. Good, Just, Beautiful, All-wise, All-powerful is his supreme Being. God has no body, no passions; one must not offer him any gifts. Only the pious and the just can commune with God. The ὑπόνοια is evident everywhere. The visible gods stand alongside him, the heavenly bodies. But this is a mythical expression. There is no worship of the heavenly bodies. Astrology is superstition. He adopts the entire nomenclature outwardly. (Tim. 40. d). In the Laws, however (10. 907. d), he takes a different view. Here he even rails against private individuals who conduct their own worship. Here, as in the Epinomis of Philip of Opus, there is more of Philip than of Plato. The gloomy theological spirit is certainly un-Platonic in form.

Aristotle

[*119 A*] After Plato's death, a succession of external successors, in a deliberate one-sidedness, with Speusippus and Xenocrates turning increasingly towards practical matters and Pythagoreanism. Polemon and Crantor are not the true successors either. This is Aristotle of Stagira, born in 384, in Athens in 367, sent to Hermias after 347, to Philip in 344 to educate Alexander. In 335 he returned to Athens, where he founded his own school at the Lyceum. 323 Macedonian persecution; accused of impiety, he fled to Chalcis, (died) 322, aged 63. His writings: A Dialogues, B Lectures, C Hypomnemata. [448]

A lost; some were still extant during Plato's lifetime. Bernays's basic idea is mistaken. [449]

B preserved and well edited by Bekker. Bonitz's index is excellent for philosophical understanding.

C: Preliminary work and collection of source material are prerequisites for B.

448 Fragments ed. Rose
[Aristoteles qui ferebantur librorum fr. coll. Valentin Rose, Leipzig 1886]

449 *Bernays* on Aristotle's Dialogues
[Bernays, Jacob: Aristotle's Dialogues in relation to his other works, Berlin 1863]

It is the logical writings that capture the image of the system and provide an overview. They are not lecture notes, (but) handbooks. They everywhere require the master's living word. Foundations for the lectures. The 'ὄρμανον' is the collective name.

The 8 books of φυστυή άυρόαστc, vspì 7ώων ìστορίαc; the last books are spurious. Then the νρώτ0 φτλοσοφία, the so-called Meta[*119 B*](phy)sik. Then the Nicomachean Ethics, likewise published after the Master's death. Finally, Politics, composed of various fragments that cannot be rearranged, and the three books of Rhetoric, also a collection of disparate material.

Aristotle had already engaged in polemics against Plato whilst at the Academy. Yet he remains within its sphere, for Plato is, after all, an enemy of all dependence. Plato respects his pupil, yet seeks to refute him – even if Siebeck's evidence fails [Siebeck, Hermann: Plato as a Critic of Aristotelian Views, in: Journal of Philosophy and Philosophical Criticism, New Series 107 (1896) 1–28, 167–176; 108 (1896) 1–18, 109–110]. In Aristotle's writings, his own ideas are developed above all. The system is developed from Plato. He proceeds from the premise that only the existing, not the becoming, is the object of knowledge. We must know the άττία, the necessity.

Here too, %ó(a and 0ντστήμ0 are distinguished. Philosophy arises from wonder at the

%ó(a gives rise to philosophy.[450]

The contingent belongs to the realm of %ó(a; like Plato, he is an opponent of sensualism. He is a thoroughgoing idealist. The philosopher's life is sí%aíμων; a life that engages with the highest problems is divine.[451] Yet Plato's greatest vigour is lacking. – With Socrates, everything is practical; Plato elevates practice and theory to harmony, one merging into the other. Aristotle is particularly fond of [*119 C*] retreating into the realm of theory. He has never practically entered real life and withdraws into his cell. Theory is sufficient unto itself; practice looks to the product and must sully itself with matter. But from a theoretical standpoint, Aristotle believes that philosophy must lead from the general to the particular. For him, the idea is not abstract; rather, the essence, form and idea inherent in the individual belong together. Thus he is a realist. The researcher must therefore descend to the smallest level, where the general is often most clearly visible. This applies above all to ethics and the natural sciences. This empirical realm is, of course, not his science, but it is nonetheless part of it. And the concept is realised in the individual. The observation of nature teaches us this. In this respect, Aristotle is guided by the atomists. Here the Eleatics and atomists, Leucippus and Northern Greek philosophy, converge. This union is impressive.

For every question, the concept is first established. He [i.e. Aristotle] takes even the smallest details into account; he is a historian, and truth is the final outcome of a long chain of preparatory work. [*119 D*] In essence, Plato had already done this. But here it is carried out systematically. The sense of certainty

450 *Metaph. A cap. 2*, 982 B 12.
451 *Ethics 1177 B 30*

This is achieved in the process. One stands before him fully prepared. In Socrates' induction, he introduces the technique of reasoning. Not only the τί σττν but also the %tótt. The concept must be scrutinised closely. Schleiermacher, too, therefore missed the speculative spirit! But we see that he anticipates the historical-scientific method. [452] He alone truly conducted research in antiquity. Admittedly, he also errs in doing so; he cannot always find the right answer. His presentation is almost geometric. He emphasises only the connection. Through this, he has also become the creator of scientific language – it appears Hellenistic and austere. [*119*]

2 *Logic.*

Aristotle is its creator, but in a formal sense. Logic: the doctrine of scientific reasoning. The non-Aristotelian term ὅρμανον is quite excellent. He himself calls it ἀναλυττυή 0ντστήμ0, which is also good. Knowledge is possible through experience. Learning in Plato is ἀνάμν0στc. He [i.e. Aristotle] wishes to assist through the concept of development. The soul is νο0ττυόν, λομτστττυόν. In this, the soul is a τόνος ί%?ων, but only the νο0ττυή and not literally, but %υνάμst. From the disposition, knowledge becomes thus: the first for us is perception. Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu. A τό%s τt stands before the eyes – but perception adheres to general characteristics, to the type.[453] That is the τοτόν%s. Now experience develops through memory. From this arises the τ?ζν0, when man directs himself towards a becoming, 0ντστήμ0, or towards a being. Perception is necessary; he believes in it, even if he is not a sensualist. He approaches every observation with affection. Of course, so many errors have been found in his work! He believes that the errors of observation affect our understanding, which wrongly connects the τοτόν%s with the τό%s τt. For him, there is no difference between primary and secondary qualities. Kant's theories are entirely foreign to him. – One must distinguish between the uaθ' αίτό and the accidental [*120*], the uατὰ συμβsβ0uόν. The uaθ' αίτό becomes a uaθόλου. If this now coincides with the essence of things, then genus, e.g. 7ωον; the concept of ц?νoc is always associated with the uaθόλου
associated.[454] The si%0 formed from the ц?νoc by such essential
features – %taφορά sί%όnοτός – which do not pertain to the ц?νoc. For example, the ц?νoc of writing forms the si%0 of poetry and prose. The ц?νoc with all its features forms the ὅρoc, ὸρτσμός. To emphasise this essential nature,

452 *Eucken* employs Aristotle's method. 1872. On the Significance of Aristotle. 1872. [Eucken, Rudolf: The Method of Aristotelian Research, Berlin 1872 | Eucken, Rudolf: On the Significance of Aristotelian Philosophy for the Present (Inaugural Address), Berlin 1872]

453 *Arist. Analyt. Post.* 100 A 17. v. 100 A 2.

454 *Topics 25, 2. a. 31* [Reading and reference unclear; perhaps 102 a 31?]

he uses the word ővspov, 'being' as such.[455] Such an ővsp is posited to denote being, e.g. ővsp λsîuov, the essence of whiteness. The si%oc is a more elusive concept[456] . The τό τt ήν sivat has caused much headache. It is the enduring being that already was. Finally, the essence of substance is: sivatc. Dative. τ¼ άνθρώνL sivat, to possess the essence of man.

He names the kinds according to the differences i%ta. E.g. i%tov, the human capacity for education. Truth and error arise only in the sentence. A statement arises through the combination of ővoμa and ρήμa. If something is stated in the statement, then νρότασtc and άνόφανστc. It is true when thought connects that which is truly connected. Now 1) άνόφασtc and uατάφασtc: negation and affirmation. Differences in *quality* form an άντίφασtc. Differences in *quantity*: uaθόλou, uατà μ?poc etc.

The *modality*: assertoric judgements τὸ ìνάρzov, the apodictic τὸ H(άνάτσου0c ìνάρzov. Finally, the possible τὸ 0ν%?zσθat ìνάρzov. Admittedly, he is not considering the subjective but the objective aspect here. He is operating on the ground of ontology. Given the metaphysical foundation, this error is easy to understand. He discusses the inversion of judgements at length.

Only a proof based on necessary premises is reliable; the direct proof is to be preferred to the indirect, and that of the %t' őττ to that of the [*121*] őττ. Every proof must originate from the domain to which the thing to be proved belongs; no μsταβάστc 0c αλλον μ?νoc, not even an arithmetic proof for geometry, is permitted. The general application of the mathematical method of our time is entirely un-Aristotelian. Not everything can be proven; there are τà αμsσa, immediate truths that require no proof, άρzαί; the proposition is an axiom. These a priori truths are the subject of νοîc. It can never be mistaken – this too is an άνανό%stυτον. Axioms common to all fields of knowledge, then propositions belonging to the specific sciences. Both are unprovable, only in a negative sense. The principles are drawn from experience, with the law of contradiction at the forefront, as is the law of the excluded middle. The 0ν-αμωμή is added to this. Induction leads up to the principles – here a circle, as Arist. well realises, which is why he deals with dialectic in the 'Topics'. He proceeds from the %ó(a here, in which some things are genuine. Experience has quite different points of view; this is settled in the form of the aporia, often to the reader's despair. All instances are exhausted until one arrives at a λίστc.[457] The concept is the content of knowledge. The concept is given through the ὸρτσμός. It cannot be obtained through induction. But (Anal. Post. II. 8 [93 a 1–13]) since the definition consists of two parts, the essence must be developed genetically

455 *Bonitz Index* ővsp

456 *Rhein. Mus. 18. 481*
[Spengel, Leonhard: The Definition and Classification of Rhetoric in Antiquity, in: Rh. Mus. 18 (1863) 481–526]

457 Met. F 2. 1004. B 25 [more likely 1004 a 25]

the, genus – species. The Platonic %tatp?σstc bear fruit here. A true derivation of the individual is impossible. The task of metaphysics is not the crowning of the whole; the edifice is used merely [*122*] as an aid, as a theory of categories. Andronikos placed the text, whose authenticity is not certain, at the forefront of logic. Every thing is either substance or an accident of substance: quantity, quality, relation, νοî, νότs, άsîσθat, Hzstv, votsîv, vάσzstv. The possibilities of contemplation. These are limited by ц?v0 – but how, we do not know. There are 60, presumably empirically established – but cf. the 60 opposites of Pythagoras. Incidentally, Aristotle seems to have found them already, with hints in Plato. The uατ0-цορίat in Aristotle himself plays a preparatory role.

The *νρώτ φτλοσοφία.*

It is intended to reveal the ultimate reasons for being.[458] The aiττa must be eternal. They are the causes of the divine, theology. 1) the universal and the particular, 2) matter and form, 3) potentiality (and) actuality. 1) Plato had already shown that the particular is changeable, only the essence is eternal. But Aristotle wants nothing to do with Plato's universally valid Ideas. The content of the Ideas is the same as that of their counterparts. Substance cannot be separated from accident. The generic concept is inseparable from the individual. And if there were an Idea and its manifestation, there would have to be a mediation between them, and so on. One would have the idea of man, then Socrates, and in between a middle-man; this is the τρίτος ανθρωνος of the Sophists. [459]

Many of Plato's disciples clung to the theory of ideas; Aristotle was unable to make headway here, nor was Xenocrates. Hence the constant controversy. Plato's fundamental error lay in the separation of ideas from the concept. Aristotle regards ideas as abstract thoughts, the universal not as Yv vapà τà νολλά, but as Yv uατà νολλων. The universal predicate, the Yv the [*123*] οίσία, the subject. The genera are at most %sίτspat οίσίat. Now, would knowledge be knowledge of individual substance? But it is precisely the knowledge of universal concepts that matters. There is a contradiction here that remains unresolved.[460] Such contradictions are only natural. This άνορία is, after all, the most difficult for him.

The form, si%oc, μορφή, λόцος, οίσία, τό τt ήν sivat. Opposed to it is the ΰλ0, not the non-being, but the formally indeterminate, the not-yet-being Arist. 329. A 24. It is always μστ' 0ναντtώσσωc. Everything that comes into being arises from its opposite: warm – not warm.

458 *Metaph. A 982. B 7*

459 *Rhein. Mus. 34, 64.*
[Baeumker, Clemens: On the Sophist Polyxenos, in: Rh. Mus. 34 (1879) 64–83]

460 *Bonitz's Commentary on Metaphysics* | *Rassow's De notionis doctrina*. 57.
[Aristot. Met. rec. et enarravit Hermann Bonitz, Vol. 2, Bonn 1849 | Rassow, Hermann: Aristote-lis de notionis definitione doctrina (Diss.), Berlin 1843]

This is the στ?p0στc, a negative form. The űλ0 and si%oc constitute the four principles [461] 1) űλ0 causa materialis – Aristotle has here too aptly formed τὸ 0(ou. 2) si%oc a) formal cause, causa formalis, τὸ uaθ' ő. β) causa movens, τὸ votoîv aiττov, τὸ ìφ' ou. ц) causa finalis τὸ ou Yvsua. 1, a, β, ц the 4 άpzaí. These 4 causes are distinguished only formally; fundamentally, there are only 2 parts. The concept calls for formulation: τὸ votoîv, τὸ vázov.

Potentiality and actuality are new, in a purely Aristotelian sense. If we consider the ц?vsστc, then τὸ %uvάμst sivat and τὸ 0v?pцstą sivat. Matter—for example, ore—is merely a potential statue, %uvάμst άv%ptác, but it is transformed into an άv-
%ptác through the artist. Aristotle thus arrives at the Hegelian concept, which Darwin also adopts: the concept of development. The doctrine of unity is thereby corrected.

1) The concept of motion, the path from %uvάμst to 0vspцsίą. The whole world is eternal, as is its creative power. But this power is not entirely eternal; there must be an impulse. The deity provides this impulse. There is 1) only that which is in motion, %íva-μtc. 2) nature, %ívaμtc and 0vspцsίą. 3) merely 0vspцsίą, God. He is unchanging, eternal, unified, necessary, absolute form, incorporeal, outside of space. *[124]* He is pure voîc. The object of thought in God can only be God Himself. voîc voήσωc vó0στc. Thus is the absolute bliss of God fulfilled. It is a theological system, but He is impersonal, uniform; He does not lift a finger. For the Idea creates and moves without action. This is the magnet towards which the whole world moves. [462] God is the absolute end. Physics deals with that which is in motion. It is immanent motion. A tree must grow, but a chair remains what it is. 1) the general concepts of physics 2) their explanation in detail (vspì цsv?σsωc)(.) *The 4 main concepts*: motion, infinity, space, time. The uív0στc as a metaphysical concept: the realisation of the possible. The movement of substance: ц?v0στc uaì φθορά, 2) άλλοί0στc 3) φορά 4) μαίωστc. φορά is The main thing is to trace everything back to it.

The avstpov has been important since Anaximander. Here it is recognised only as potential, 0vspцsίą, oűu sστtv.

3) τόνος, space, not a boundary or form, but rather v?pac τοî vspt-
?zοντος.[463] Thus the space of the earth, the part of the atmosphere separating it from the air. The world has no boundary. Space is intra-worldly.

4 zpόνος. Measure of uív0στc in relation to vpότspov and űστspov. The moment is its unity, time is the movement. Time is a συvszsίc, but a resolvable, discrete quantity.

461 *Waitz* бpцavov 402.
[Aristotle "Opцavov ... rec .....Theodor Waitz, Vol. 2: Analytica posteriora, Topica, Leipzig 1846, p. 402 on űλ0 (401–411 on the four principles]

462 *Physics 267. A 6* | *On the Heavens 1. 9* [= 279 a 33]

463 *Physics 4. 4.* [210 B 32 ff.]

Nature can be explained in terms of motion. There are two types: rectilinear and circular. Corresponding to these are two elements. Aether has as its specific motion the uíuλou uív0στc. Fire is centrifugal, [*125*] earth is centripetal. Water and air are mediating. In eternal processes, they merge into one another. But there are differences within the elements. The uόσμoc: Eudoxus, his friend and pupil, had reorganised the Ionian spheres into 27 spheres [Arist. Met. 1073 b 17 ff.]. Thus he was able to explain everything and establish it skilfully. Callippus, also an astronomer, then added a further 7. Aristotle adds more for metaphysical reasons: the 22 retrograde spheres. The nested system is highly ingenious, but ill-considered. This hypothesis had already been 'improved' by the epicycles of Apollonius of Perga in the 3rd century.

Meteorology also contains fanciful assumptions. ήλtoc anθρωνον цsνν¾. With him, everything is uniformly regulated.

Organic nature is distinguished by the soul. It is si%oc, form, causa movens, final purpose. It is the 0ντsλ?zsta, as a force, not as an activity. The term is linguistically dubious; the soul is the goal, τ?λoc of the entire organism.

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